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THE MANKIND QUARTERLY

— mala opinio bene parta delectet —

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PSYCHODIAGNOSIS, PROGNOSIS, SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND DELINQUENCY

By CLAIRETTE P. ARMSTRONG

A Court Dogma?

Specifying that the separation of White and Negro school children "of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone," the Supreme Court's desegregation order, after mentioning past psychological knowledge, continues: "this finding is amply supported by modern authority."[1] Tantamount to a psychological diagnosis however patterned, evidently this psychological preoccupation presupposes psychological proof. When hearts and minds are indelibly affected, trauma can and should be demonstrated.

Hence some key aspects in the gestalt of the integration moves are appraised to point out the plight awaiting numerous unfortunate Negro children especially. Nor should the effect on White children be discounted. Mass integration will create many unhappy misfit Negro school children—today's incipient truants and juvenile court cases, often tomorrow's criminals.[2] This is no adventure in prophecy, but accrues from individual psychological examinations and research on thousands of New York Children's Court arraigned delinquents of various courts, conspicuously truants and home deserters, 8 to 15 years old, and also on unselected school children.

Chief among the social scientists named in footnote 11 by the Court as authority expounding the evils to personality from school segregation are several psychologists led by Professor Kenneth Clark[3] who was employed as scientific consultant to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and most often involved in the evidence. Since their professional psychodiagnosis and prognosis of enduring, hence serious, personality trauma to Negroes from segregated schools is asserted explicitly and implicitly, the burden of proof that school segregation is

[1] *Brown vs. Board of Education,* U.S. Supreme Court, 17th May 1954, pp. 9-10.

[2] Clairette P. Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys: Why Boys Desert Their Homes,* The Gorham Press, Boston, 1932, p. 9.

[3] *Brown vs. Board of Education,* p. 10.

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practically pathognomonic of a severe inferiority complex rests upon these psychologists. Oracular diagnoses await scientific evidence.

Minor defects of personality from seemingly commonplace causes are universal, for inferiority feelings are the usual traumata of everyday life of a child irrespective of color—a natural part of growing up, inevitable, omnipresent and generally as harmless as breathing. Rare is the person at any age who is not below others in one thing or another, at some time or other. No one can lead in everything, be it the three R's, a game, sport, art, pulchritude, physique or popularity. With the normal, inferiority feelings do not become fixed but disappear spontaneously. Shrugged off, they are displaced by other interests or assets. Ambivalence of sorts is usual and global.

Throughout the segregation cases Professor Clark's diagnosis of psychopathology implies adequate psychological proof from research having accepted standards of scientific measures, method and procedure. Unfortunately this is missing. There is not even a longitudinal study to substantiate lasting trauma. Tragedy to many unhappy Negro children, pawns in the crucial social experiment of integration, might be avoided had Professor Clark and his confrères exhibited the scientific acumen exemplified by the "Life History Interviews With One Hundred Normal American Males: 'Pathogenicity' of Childhood." Most of the men studied were superior and substantially free of psychoneurotic and psychosomatic symptomatology. Yet their childhood histories contained seemingly as many traumatic events or pathogenic factors as psychotic cases completely disabled thereby. Then, with commendable caution, follows the warning that more control studies are necessary before any theories even are hazarded from the results.[4] Tempting, however, is it to speculate on the fundamental powers of constitutional stability in overcoming environmental hurts, which probably "are things of native growth not grafted in."[5]

It is a truism that trauma is the pathogenic factor that can trigger off neurosis and it has a psychological pathogenesis. But the average person does not need protection from life's realities to overcome frustration which may be caused by constitutional factors, biological facts, or simultaneous conflict. The vulnerable may become neurotic and express frustration by abnormal affective reactions; the unstable may fail in the face of external

[4] L. Harold Renard and Floyd Estess, "Life History Interviews with One Hundred Normal American Males: 'Pathogenicity' of Childhood," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, October 1961, pp. 92-97.

[5] J. Hookham Frere, *Theognis Restitutus*, Malta, 1842.

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or internal conflict, and symptoms change with environment.[6] How can Clark prove that the implied inferiority complex (if any) is caused by school segregation by race and not by inability to subtract or read, jealousy of a sib, parental attitude, or some other commonplace daily but upsetting incident?

Psychodiagnosis

Instability of varying degrees is exposed by individual psychological examinations, possibly by unevenness of reactions.[7] Intelligence tests, like the internist's thermometer, are basically important. Hence the expectation that the Court's fiat might be justified psychologically by valid research of the psychological "authorities." But lacking are the facts of mental life of the segregated Negro child. Absent are the customary thorough personality studies searching the whole psyche, the various traits and their integration, for structure and function are independent. Sought in vain are the usual techniques based on psychological laws and principles, standard procedure in clinics, hospitals, schools, psychological centers and private practice. A child's mental processes, emotions, behavior and *status quo* should be thoroughly assessed, to locate disabilities or incidents which might sire grave inferiority; for the qualitative and quantitative differences in the many elements composing personality can be played up or down to bring about successful adjustment.

Actually Scheier comes up with some "20 factor-dimensions known to characterize personality;"[8] at the same time Nickerson points out that "a significant aspect of complex human behavior cannot be measured by six abstruse items and sixteen such measures do not make a personality."[9] This is obvious to most clinicians who, however, acccept certain measures as fundamental; but all eschew a lone Projective Test for clinical psychodiagnosis and prognosis. For if a clinical psychologist categorically predicts permanent or even impermanent psychological harm, all mental resources, debits, credits, and potentialities to meet trouble, must first be evaluated. But adequate probing of mental life is nonexistent throughout the psychological evidence asserting injury presented to the Courts.

[6] J. Lopez-Ibor, "The Structure of the Neuroses," *Journal of Neuropsychiatry,* December 1962, pp. 92-97.

[7] Clairette P. Armstrong, "Tests for Psychological Diagnosis," *Psychological Techniques,* 1941, pp. 1-5.

[8] Ivan H. Scheier, "Experimental Results to Date from the Standpoint of the Clinician," in "Recent Advances in the Measurement of Anxiety, Neuroticism, and the Psychotic Syndromes," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science,* 10th October 1962, pp. 813-856.

[9] Kenneth S. Nickerson, "Comments on the Brain Watchers," *American Psychologist,* August 1963, p. 531.

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Children of high and low I.Q., as too those showing marked instability or bizarre reactions, may be culled by group psychometric surveys for study by individual mental tests, such as the Stanford-Binet, since intelligence is a fundamental facet of personality, most important in a child's life. While comparing him with the average, not only level of intelligence—whether normal, superior, dull or defective—is evaluated but also the quality of thinking signicant of a healthy personality able to adjust to life's vicissitudes is checked.[10] Thus are measured traits like memory for different materials, reasoning, abstract thinking, apprehension, comprehension, insight, association and perseveration of ideas, and also speed, blocking, emotional tone, vocabulary, speech, and any dysfunction—ideas of reference, neologizing, fantasying, and so on, as well as sensory-motor reactions. During the individual intelligence test which stimulates a school situation, attention, mental tension and efficiency, ability to maintain and reach a goal, motor coordination, instability, impairment and deterioration, all are weighed and if necessary studied further.

Scientifically validated have been the "knowledges, skills, traits and abilities" assembled in intelligence tests.[11] Most useful and functionally indispensable are age-grade comparisons. Poor mental functioning, that is inferior ability to control thinking and advance ideas for successful problem-solving, is uncovered thus and is measurable—important in examining the volatile of various degrees and types and the seriousness of any disability. Aberrations of thinking denote psychopathy fitting various categories of trouble, incipient or otherwise. Manual ability and motor coordination on Performance Tests may bring out some aspects of instability—or a talent. Tests of school skills disclose much. Numerous special tests are available. Interviews of child and family plus medical, social and family history all contribute to competent diagnosis and prognosis.

Projective Tests, at best too subjective, cannot be interpreted with sufficient consistency to warrant use for practical objective, clinical measurements—and of course never as a scientific tool to predict irreparable and enduring psychopathology in school children. As the Director of the Test Research Service comments:[12]

> It is the writer's opinion that the law of diminishing returns has set in for research on existing questionnaires and projective tests used in measuring personality traits. . . . The weight of experimental evidence clearly indicates that there is no adequate

[10] Clairette P. Armstrong, "Tests as Diagnostic Aids in Clinical Practice," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency,* January 1943, Vol. XLVII.

[11] Frederick B. Davis, "Pros and Cons of Psychological Testing," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Science,* February 1963, p. 397.

[12] *Ibid.,* p. 407.

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scientific basis for using projective tests either as clinical instruments for assessing personality traits of an individual or as predictors of psychiatric diagnosis or other criteria of personal or social adjustment. . . . Perhaps the most troublesome problem is that of exerting professional influence to curtail excesses in the use of personality tests in clinical psychological practice. . . .[13]

Nickerson, too, considers it is obvious that "The state of science in the field of test construction, research and validation verges on the pathetic."[14]

However, aside from the question of validation, standardization and assumption of personal latitude of Clark's "Projective Tests," *per se* they are no scientific psychological tool for differential diagnosis and prognosis. Yet Clark, aware of psychological propriety, does cursorily list in his Social Science Statement Appendix (hereafter referred to as SSS) some of a child's all-important, interrelated phases, namely, "stability and quality of his family relations . . . cultural and educational background . . . the particular minority group, his personal characteristics, intelligence, special talents, personality pattern."[15] But these data are all quickly by-passed and discarded unmeasured. Yet he does recognize what is entailed in a thorough study of all types of cases—normal, retarded, unstable, neurotic, psychotic, organic and so on.

The preceding, seemingly detailed analysis of personality, though only slighted dissected, touches on some important aspects when looking for trends characteristic of minor or major psycopathy. Meagerly enumerated are some mental processes, traits, interests and talents possible of development. In evaluating personality its variables are evaluated, for psychological examinations are made up of raw data from tests plus other available material whereby the psychologist distinguishes facts from inferences and inference from speculation.[16] This applies to all degrees of "pathogenicity." Accepted practice for significant diagnosis does not depend on ephemeral stereotype or speculation.

Background

Although the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was never mentioned in the desegregation briefs or

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 408.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 530.

[15] Appendix to Appelants' Briefs, *Brown vs. Board of Education,* U.S. Supreme Court, October 1952, "The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement," p. 4.

[16] Karl A. Menninger, with Martin Mayman and Paul W. Pruysen, *Manual for Psychiatric Case Study,* Grune and Stratton, New York, 1962, p. 189.

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evidence, Professor Clement E. Vose, a proponent of the Supreme Court order, discloses from NAACP records how suitable social science opinion was gathered as supporting research for integration, and how cases were prepared for the Courts and the Courts for cases:

> Before Negroes could effectively register their claims against the validity of racial restrictive covenants, they had to await the development of favorable social and economic theories . . . new data . . . could serve as a persuasive factor in reshaping the judicial mind. . .[17] [Previously] dominant social theory favored segregation of the races, [that the White race] should protect itself from the corrupting influence of darker people . . . [that] Negroes were inferior to the White race in every way . . . the mental capacity of the Negroes was ranked far below that of Whites. This was related to the notion that Negroes were predisposed to a life of crime, immorality and emotional instability.[18]. . . Scrutiny of the NAACP's part in the successful litigation which ended the Court's enforcement of racial restrictive covenants indicates *techniques used by a pressure group dealing mainly with the judiciary* [emphasis added]. The NAACP carefully planned its test cases and encouraged publication of articles for use in its legal briefs.[19]

"Pressure group" techniques may well explain the obfuscation of scientific facts by semantics throughout the cases. For a phrasal collocation more or less applicable is an idiomatic idiosyncrasy of the English language but is not the language of science. It can stimulate emotional thinking by empathy and sympathy and replace logical thinking on a higher cortical level. Professor Clark's oft-reiterated "segregation, prejudice, and discrimination" is a telling verbal collocation for a "pressure group" which in the same idiom becomes the means to arouse a hue and cry by emotional stress and strain to bemuse towards integration. Indeed Professor Gregor concludes segregation never was isolated from prejudice and discrimination, so that most of the SSS is irrelevant to the case.[20] Does not the emotional triad aid by suggestion in "reshaping the judicial mind" and the public's?

By adroit use of the psychological laws of learning, affect-laden words like segregation, with its two scapegoats suggesting dire hardship, deftly and subtly become hidden propaganda to

[17] Clement E. Vose, "NAACP Strategy in the Covenant Cases," *Western Reserve Law Review*, Winter 1955, p. 112.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[20] A. James Gregor, "The Law, Social Science, and School Segregation: An Assessment," *Western Reserve Law Review*, September 1963, p. 624.

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manipulate fact. Professor Gregor points out that Clark himself disclosed "there is little in the scientific literature on the precise effects of prejudice and discrimination in health of personality."[21] Clark also told the NAACP lawyers it was "not possible to testify on the psychologically damaging effects of segregated schools alone"![22]

Similar issues are being widely discussed showing generally varying shades of opinion, since the scientific community is not a monolith, anywhere:

> But, when scientists get involved in public affairs—whether at the summons of the government or on their own initiative—it is plain that, in terms of morality, competence, and devotion to the public interest, they are no better or worse as a group than lawyers, admirals, architects, or even university presidents . . . the scientific community . . . is composed of scores of thousands of persons who are revolted by the twisting of scientific evidence to suit political conceptions.[23]. . . scientific knowledge, properly used, can be immensely useful to the processes of government and the national well-being . . . the real issue . . . is how a democracy can incorporate into its political processes a body of knowledge that is largely beyond its comprehension.[24]

This problem, brought out by the desegregation cases as well as by Professor Vose's frank description of NAACP's "pressure group" tactics, applies especially to a young science and new profession like psychology which is particularly vulnerable to misuse because of its youth and multiform aspects. Actually one branch is hardly aware of the research of another.

Psychological Evidence

Despite Professor Clark's admission of no psychological damage from segregation or prejudice and discrimination, he wrote that the NAACP attorneys believed "the help of psychologists was necessary to evaluate the thesis that racial segregation inflicts psychological damage on its victims;"[25] also that social scientists testified "on the nature of racial segregation, its psychological and personality consequences,"[26] and ". . .the role of the social

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 625.

[22] Kenneth B. Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child,* Beacon Press, Boston, 1963, p. 193.

[23] D. S. Greenberg, "Reaction to Snow: Scientists' Role in Public Affairs Draws Increasingly Heavy Criticism," *Science,* 4th October 1963, p. 34.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[25] Kenneth B. Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child, op cit.*, p. 210.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

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scientists was restricted to the preparation of materials related to the psychological effects of segregation. . . .''[27]

The judicial opinions throughout the desegregation trials indubitably were influenced consciously or unconsciously by overt and covert suggestion of NAACP lawyers and the social scientists, notably psychologists, listed in the final fiat. Certainly judicial terminology is redolent of their thinking and showed at least subliminal perception—an undeniable force in prelogical processes.[28] The constant and astute use by NAACP attorneys and their witnesses of the words science and psychology with implications, assertions and cleverly turned phrases suggested ''race equality'' and ''segregated-school-harm-to-personality'' as incontrovertibly and scientifically proven.

For instance ''The Statement of Counsel'' signed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP's then chief lawyer, and his two associates, R. L. Carter and S. W. Robinson, introducing the Appendix to the Appelants' Brief titled ''The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation: A Social Science Statement'' (SSS) focuses on segregation by title as did their preface:

> The following statement . . . represents a consensus of social scientists with respect to the issues presented in these appeals. As a summary of the best available scientific evidence relative to the effects of racial segregation on the individual, we file it.[29]

Yet Professor Clark, one of the three SSS authors, all signatories along with fifteen more psychologists and seventeen other social scientists, stated flatly that nowhere in the SSS did he ever contend that ''racial segregation in itself accounted for the observed damage in the ego structure of these children.''[30] Did he forget introduction, title and implications? Besides, his writing is replete with seemingly approving revelations about segregation such as ''. . . emphasis placed on the psychological damage inherent in racial segregation . . . supports the belief that the . . . Court gave careful consideration to the findings of social science.''[31] Similarly he notes the Supreme Court quoting the trial judges: ''segregation . . . has a detrimental effect upon the colored children . . . denoting inferiority . . . which . . . affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation . . . has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them.''[32]

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 211.

[28] M. R. Green, "Prelogical Processes and Participation Communication," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, October 1961, pp. 726-740.

[29] Appendix, *Brown vs. Board of Education, op cit.*

[30] Kenneth B. Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child, op. cit.*, p. 203.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

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Likewise the Court examinations of Clark by the NAACP attorneys abound in suggestions, undoubtedly the prerogative of lawyers, that he had established that segregation robs self-esteem, or blocks development, or causes adverse psychological reactions, and the like. Tautology outranks psychology. Their adviser, Clark, seemed not to demur or deter them. Obviously without quibbling segregation by his own presentation was the issue. If Clark did not specify segregation himself, others did so for him. Was he entirely naïve or enmeshed in "pressure group" propaganda? At the same time Clark did write that he had concluded from his own results and all literature in the field "that discrimination, prejudice, and segregation have definitely detrimental effects on the personality development of the Negro child."[33] Now Clark has it both ways, wavering from solo segregation to his trio.

Social scientists have impugned Professor Cleark's rôle, his experiments and evidence with sharply derogatory criticism. For example Professor Ernest van den Haag decided that Clark had misled the Court, but in view of his contradictions and chameleon conclusions perhaps did not know what he was doing—or did he?[34] Also Professor A. James Gregor points out:

> If Clark's evidence indicates anything at all it indicates that Negro children, at critical periods in their personality development, benefit in an environment which insulates them from interracial contact. In an all-Negro environment Negro children tend to identify themselves with their own group, an identification necessary to their psychological health because of their high social visibility.[35]

This is evident to one who has worked with Negro children. Professor Clark's projective tests seem to corroborate this. Yet his contradictory opinions, discrepancies, far-fetched interpretations in published experiments in southern segregated and northern integrated schools and in his Court testimony, compound confusion. No critique of his "Projective Tests" follows, merely brief illustrations. He answers his own question as to how northern integrated Negroes differ from segregated southerners by: "Nearly 80% of the southern children colored their preferences brown, whereas only 36% of the northern children did."[36] Apparently

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[34] Ernest van den Haag, "Social Science Testimony in the Desegregation Cases: A Reply to Professor Kenneth Clark," *Villanova Law Review*, Fall 1960, pp. 69-79.

[35] A. James Gregor, "Science and Social Change: A Review of K. B. Clark's *Prejudice and Your Child*," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY. Vol. III, No. 4, April-June 1963, pp. 231-232.

[36] Kenneth B. Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child, op. cit.*, p. 44.

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dissenting, he states: "Younger children . . . tend to express their self-hatred by concrete and direct rejection of brown skin color."[37] But the southern segregated Negroes did not reject their own skin color as did the northern integrated children. Hence by Clark's own standards there is no harm (self-hatred) from segregation, while harm comes from desegregation, although there is no proof that color preference or identification is a valid criterion of harm from school segregation.

Clark asserts that the northern Negroes are better adjusted than the southern Negroes, because the "emotional turmoil" is an attempt "to assert some positive aspect of the self" and so is healthy.[38] And the calm reactions of segregated southern Negroes he interprets as due to an unhealthy personality because they accept an "inferior social status."[39] On the basis of one brief contact with a child, without credible evidence, does Clark presume to foretell lasting psychological trauma from school segregation? Does this not lend support to "An Analysis of the Psychological Testing Industry," which criticizes the unwarranted claims of some testers and their "magical predictions?"[40]

Clinically, self-control under stress is one differential between stability and instability, between normal and abnormal, through a variety of conditions from mild hysteria to the psychoses. Like psychotics, psychopaths of less degree cannot maintain self-control. Does Clark know this? Not allowing life's ironies to injure shows ability to sustain calm and channel emotion constructively. Besides, resistance to the temptation to lament unpleasant realities builds good mental health. Restraint of the segregated southern Negroes, if under strain, does credit to parents, perhaps to teachers too. Children can be toughened psychologically as well as physically. Character is built by discipline. Repressions in many ways make for good mental health.

On the other hand, school segregation may not at all be painful because children, aside from the comfort of consciousness of kind, may be indifferent or oblivious. Obviously harm may stem from integration for many reasons including discernible, unavoidable, inevitable comparisons with Whites—even skin color itself. In short, conflict of cultures, when a minority group tries to adjust to a more difficult milieu, calls for much realistic help according to their needs and abilities—but not the present integration hysteria with its covert threats, whipped up unbelievably enough by authority of Church and State. This is an extremely cruel, inhuman

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 45
[40] Martin L. Gross, *The Brain Watchers,* Random House, New York, 1961.

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hoax for most Negro children. To arouse their unrealizable expectations that school desegregation will transform them into smart scholars can be psychologically devastating.

Clearly, tests which like the Delphic Oracle are interpreted *ad lib.*, according to one's personality quirks, beliefs, prejudices or the moment's exigencies, are no scientific measure. The unreliable, ambiguous, over-flexible character of a projective test is a travesty of scientific measurements necessary for personality diagnosis. Projective tests are not based on measurable facts and even precision of concepts is absent. The accepted psychological measures of fundamental personality variables have reached beyond the finger-counting stage; many are well along in statistical validity, the basic alphabet of science. In the words of Lord Kelvin:

> When you can measure what you are speaking about, and express it in numbers, you know something about it; but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind; it may be the beginning of knowledge, but you have scarcely . . . advanced to the stage of science, whatever the matter may be.[41]

Jung had also noted that his "association studies have . . . demonstrated that highly complicated psychological phenomena are nonetheless accessible to measure."[42]

A scientific problem is clearly stated and clarified by accurate definition and limitations of the research. Then statistical treatment of the material assembled may prove one side or the other. But, carrying on the format of a scientific investigation, Clark's SSS starts to define segregation as restricting opportunity for types of association "between members of one racial, religious, national or geographical origin or linguistic group and those of other groups."[43] Racial segregation as a concept is immediately confused with other affect-laden types of segregation; also accumulated are other concomitants embracing numerous social ills as the definition meanders on. School segregation by race, the problem presumably under investigation and before the Courts, is also immediately identified as inseparable from prejudice and discrimination, and remains undefined, unlimited, without proof of harm solo or trio, but clouded with affect.

Acclaimed enthusiastically by Clark as influential, despite its dealing with segregation *per se*, the Poll of Psychology Professors

[41] S. Burger (Editor), "On Counting Fingers, *The Sciences*, 1st July 1963, p. 1.

[42] C. J. Jung, *Psychological Types*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1924, p. 518.

[43] Appendix, *Brown vs. Board of Education, op. cit.*, p. 2.

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M. Deutscher and Isidor Chein, the latter also Clark's SSS collaborator, limits segregation to racial and religious. Titled "The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation," this questionnaire reports on 447 returns from social scientists, including 272 psychologists: 90 per cent believed that enforced segregation of members of racial and religious groups was psychologically detrimental despite equal facilities.[44] Was Negro-White segregation voted on, or religious? Were the groups biased? What is meant by psychological detriment? Did the hardly impartial covering letter influence respondents?

But all this is purely academic for, like a political poll, this questionnaire so titled is but an expression of personal opinion of unknown bias. Indeed the SSS is also a discussion at the opinion level despite Judge Marshall's assurance of scientific proof, echoed in SSS itself, as to the ill effects of racial segregation on school children.

Notably the only "authority" on race and intelligence quoted in the SSS, and a signatory, a dedicated environmentalist, Social Psychology Professor Otto Klineberg was chosen from among many opposing authorities all unnoticed. But recently Klineberg did publish "A New Look at an Old Problem," in which at long last he categorically admits: "As far as mental tests are concerned, the issue is *not* of whether *on the average* Negro children obtain lower test scores than White. Of that there can be no doubt."[45] Quite a capitulation! Despite much evidence and criticism, Klineberg continues tenaciously to assert, as summarized also in SSS, that all observable and measurable differences between the races are adequately explained in terms of environmental differences. But important to the average Negro child is the admission of race differences in intelligence, almost a truism, irrespective of cause.

Klineberg finally even discusses one of Professor Frank McGurk's many scientific publications showing race differences in intelligence, hitherto consistently ignored, wherein Negroes and Whites having been matched for socio-economic level the Negroes still remain lower. After affirming this and admitting that socio-economics alone do not cause low intelligence, Klineberg retreats to other intangibles as perhaps causative, such as "motivation, self-confidence, opportunity for wider experience and other related

[44] M. Deutscher and I. Chein, "The Psychological Effects of Enforced Segregation: A Survey of Social Science Opinion," *Journal of Psychology*, 1948, pp. 259-287.

[45] O. Klineberg, "Negro-White Differences in Intelligence Test Performance: A New Look at an Old Problem," *American Psychologist*, April 1963, p. 198.

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factors."[46] But experience and biography show that these generally are inspired, even in the humblest homes, by parents, or even by schools.

Rarely indeed does improved opportunity raise an I.Q. of a normal child irrespective of color, nor does classroom mixing of low and high I.Q.'s improve the dull—by contagion. A stimulating atmosphere does not change the normal distribution curve of intelligence, with the majority in the middle range, the lower and higher ends each trailing off *in dimuendo*. Sometimes siblings, all superior, may differ twenty points or more despite the same parents, same homes, same environments, same schools and same tests, keeping practically their original I.Q.'s, even fulfilling throughout their careers the early psychological evaluations from their abilities and temperaments. Then there are some who despite every advantage of family, finances and environment have I.Q.'s perhaps consistently above average, even "superior intelligence," but still insufficiently high to graduate from college.

Klineberg concludes his "New Look" with his old dogma, there is:

> no scientifically acceptable evidence for the view that ethnic groups differ in innate abilities. *This is not the same as saying that there are no ethnic differences in such abilities.* . . . The science of psychology can offer no support to those who see in the accident of inherited skin color or other physical characteristics any excuse for denying to individuals the right to full participation in American democracy.[47]

With this last, though on a rather irrelevant propaganda note with left overtones, most would agree. Perhaps ethnic differences are not acceptable ideologically,[48] but they are nonetheless scientific.[49] Has Klineberg an escape hatch for a newer look?

Klineberg, like Clark *et al.*, ignores the all important, pragmatic but invisible reason for school segregation, not explained to the Courts, namely racial differences in "qualifications;" that the average Negro child is below the White not only in intelligence[50]

[46] F. C. J. McGurk, *Comparison of the Performance of Negro and White High School Seniors on Cultural and Non-cultural Psychological Test Questions,* Catholic University America Press, Washington, D.C., 1951.

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

[48] Clairette P. Armstrong, "Apperception Mass or Psychology Right and Left," *Journal of Heredity,* January 1937, pp. 27-30.

[49] Henry E. Garrett, "Klineberg's Chapter on Race and Psychology: A Review," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. I, No. 1, July 1960, pp. 15-22.

[50] A. M. Shuey, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence,* J. P. Bell, Lynchburg, 1958, p. 351.

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irrespective of cause but also in school skills[51] and so is unable to progress through school in step with the average White. Psychologists do not depend on mental tests alone for their conclusions. "Skin color" does serve integrationists semantically as an absurd reason for segregation; but it also may conceal racial differences of the average Negro child in "qualifications."

That individuals differ in intelligence is axiomatic, also that differences occur within each race as well as between races. These psychological differences are scientifically measurable. The span from highest to lowest intelligence may be the same for Blacks and Whites, but the former average below the Whites on intelligence tests, with more Negroes than Whites at the lower range of measured intelligence and more Whites than Negroes at the higher. If there is overlapping, it is explained:

> . . . from the environmental point of view, a bias favouring the population with the lower average must be considered. With respect to the genic component it is seen readily that the better portion of the population with the lower average overlaps the poorer portion of the population with the higher average.[52]

Professor Gregor estimates the overlap of Negroes reaching or exceeding the White norm on intelligence tests, and achievement, as approximately 20 per cent, leaving 80 per cent lower.[53]

But the really serious and cruel psychological trauma to average Negro children is educational integration with younger, brighter White classmates. For over-age, dull Negroes are embarrassed and chagrined by their scholastic disabilities and all that accompanies low mental ages. This is also true for inferior Whites. But the Negroes become a retarded, segregated, racial group, conspicuous within the better White majority. Negroes in New York City have the same educational advantage as Whites; the able can profit therefrom.

Even New York City delinquent boys aged 15 years, from integrated schools, Court arraigned for various misdeeds, differed racially,[54] due jointly to genic and environmental components. From equally deprived tenement homes, alike in low socio-economic level, each group, 200 Negroes and 200 Whites, was far below the average of unselected school children in intelligence

[51] R. T. Osborne, "Racial Difference in School Achievement," MANKIND MONOGRAPHS: III, November 1962, p. 18.

[52] J. D. J. Hofmeyr, "The Significance of the Overlapping Class," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. III, No. 3, January-March 1963, p. 160.

[53] A. James Gregor, "Science and Social Change," *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[54] Clairette P. Armstrong and Florence Heisler, "Some Comparisons of Negro and White Delinquent Boys," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 1945, pp. 81-84.

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and school skills. But the Negroes, with a Stanford Binet mental age of 11 years 10 months, and I.Q. 79, averaging borderline intelligence, were statistically inferior to the Whites, with a mental age of 12½ years, and I.Q. 85, averaging dull normal. In arithmetic the Whites were more than four years retarded, the Negroes over five. Nearly half the Negroes and a fourth of the Whites could not read at all; their small advantage over the Negroes means little. But on a test of simple mechanical ability (Stenquist) both groups were above the test norms, the Whites nearly at the top third, somewhat above the colored, and each group showed ability with simple objective situations which could be capitalized for satisfactory adjustment.

Furnishing a child with opportunity for success is good mental hygiene. More manual training and trade schools are important. Thereby the competitive disadvantage would be lessened, for a "Negro child who systematically observes his group performing at a lower level of efficiency in integrated situations, where the specific group differences become manifest, can hardly avoid assessing it as inferior in some significant sense."[55]

Ignored by integrationists is the White majority whose opportunity to progress in school, adjustment, and normal psychological growth, can be slowed down, even impaired, by the older colored minority of lower mental age and school skills and marked temperamental deviations as shown by delinquency and venereal disease rates, illegitimacy and habits which could be a physical and mental deadweight, even trauma, for the Whites.[56] Washington, D.C., is an unenviable example of failure of hit and miss desegregation which results in more delinquency and resegregation as Whites flee.[57] Why should the White majority be discriminated against? They too should have opportunity to progress normally in school.

Juvenile Delinquency

School misgrading, that is over-age child for grade, and the reverse mentally, often causing shame and grief to those of low intelligence irrespective of color who cannot fit the procrustean bed of the three R's, often leads to truancy, running away and multiple delinquencies.[58] At the root of this logical enough sequence is escape from odious comparison with brighter pupils.

[55] A. James Gregor, "The Law, Social Science, and School Segregation," *op. cit.*, p. 633.

[56] Interview with Dr Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C., "Crisis in the Nation's Capital," *U.S. News and World Report*, 11th March 1963, pp. 64-68.

[57] *Report of Sub-committee to Investigate Public School Standards and Conditions and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1957, pp. 48.

[58] Clairette P. Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys, op. cit.*, p. 58.

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Children ruthlessly ridicule their backward classmates who may recognize their incapacity and lament it. Class dunces are unhappy children.

Juvenile delinquents, Court arraigned, aged 8 to 15 years are notably unstable and have more neurotic habits than the average child, as measures of emotional stability show.[59] A frequent delinquency, running away from home,[60] is a psychoneurotic reaction. Also Court culprits have lower than average intelligence.[61] The choice for thousands of intellectually retarded children is whether to desert their usually bad homes and overwhelmingly difficult schools, risking Court punishment, or remain in their evil homes and suffer the exquisite torture of orthodox schooling. This insoluble conflict augments the inescapable plight of these pathetic dullards. School weighs heavily on them, with the impossible demanded of them, for many children regardless of color cannot learn the three R's. This is demonstrated in New York City Ungraded Classes and the array of special classes. Such classes, however, are not only a haven of escape from the three R's but also an opportunity to learn some useful work *at which each child can succeed.*

School disabilities, resulting in truancy, the school's own delinquency, generate a serious inferiority complex. Here in its incipiency can be seen how a life-long trauma for the vulnerable begins with conspicuous nervous symptoms, habitual and permanent. Small wonder that school children of subnormal intellect frequently have psychoneurotic reactions.

American-born Negro children in the New York City Public Schools' truant and disciplinary classes nearly quadrupled their population rate and as Court delinquents nearly tripled it, while American-born Whites undercut their population rate.[62] Of course as a minority group Negro children are numerically fewer than White delinquents. But Negroes were 13 per cent of the home deserters,[63] far exceeding their population rate, in the psychological and statistical study of 660 runaway boys averaging 13 years, and each race was from equally deprived homes of lowest socio-economic level.

It is propaedeutic that the problem of nervous habits, like weight or height, is the problem of every child. Its significance

[59] Clairette P. Armstrong, "A Psychoneurotic Reaction of Delinquent Boys and Girls, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* October-December 1935, p. 376.

[60] Clairette P. Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys, op. cit.,* p. 11.

[61] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

[62] Clairette P. Armstrong, "Some Mental and Social Inadequates," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* December 1937, p. 376.

[63] Clairette P. Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys, op. cit.,* p. 41.

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depends upon the frequency of occurrence and fixity.[64] And the 660 runaways besides their initial neurotic symptom, home deserting, had many other nervous habits such as temper tantrums, speech defects, tics, habit spasms, nails bitten to quick, sleep talking, crying and walking, enuresis, and so on—far more than the average schoolboy.[65] A control group of incorrigibles beyond parental control, also aged 13, were fairly similar in nervous habits, bad homes and school retardation, while another control group, house-breakers, 14 years old, also exceeded the average in nervous habits, though they had fewer than the runaways and incorrigibles. Also their homes were less bad. Intelligence was equally retarded with the control groups and runaways, whose Stanford Binet I.Q. was 78, and Performance Test I.Q. 81, not much better. All groups were markedly inferior in intelligence to most schoolboys who average around 100.[66]

Hatred of school was rife with the runaways who complained against it bitterly, and 37 per cent attributed desertions to it.[67] School misgrading with over-difficult grades and over-age boys was outstanding, and most of the runaways could not keep up with classes.[68] That 85 per cent of the runaways truanted, the majority for long periods,[69] was some evidence of school difficulty, though cruel homes were the major cause of desertion.[70] To compare with the runaway boys an investigation of runaway girls, averaging 14 years old, disclosed that 19 per cent were Negroes, far exceeding their poulation rate, with retarded intelligence like the boys, truancy, and cruel and broken homes, which last most of the girls blamed emphatically for desertions.[71] Although the rôle of the schools was secondary to that of bad homes, the personality of most runaways was further injured by orthodox schooling. All of these children attended New York City desegregated schools. The effect of mass school desegregation on the average Negro is portentous.

> To make the foolish wise, the wicked good
> That science never yet was understood.[72]

Certainly the "foolish," the subnormal intellects, if taught

[64] W. C. Olson, *The Measurement of Nervous Habits in Normal Children*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1930, p. 97.

[65] Clairette P. Armstrong, *660 Runaway Boys, op. cit.*, p. 103.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[71] Clairette P. Armstrong, "A Psychoneurotic Reaction of Delinquent Boys and Girls," *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[72] J. Hookham Frere, *op. cit.*

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according to their limitations without the pressure of stereotyped standards might escape the "wicked" category and not be driven to delinquency and doing harm to themselves and others.

SUMMARY

Opinion unsubstantiated by scientific research was the basis for the participating social scientists' belief in enduring personality damage from segregated schools to Negroes.

The psychodiagnosis and prognosis of trauma from segregated schools by the "modern authorities" invoked remain unproven.

Projective tests are not objective, scientific tools for psychological diagnosis and prognosis.

The unreliability, even absurdity, of the projective tests used, pretending to prove psychological trauma, demonstrate the fallacy of untrammeled subjective interpretation.

Customary and proven scientific measures for psychological diagnosis of personality were not admitted to the Courts by the psychologists.

The fact of Negro-White differences in measured intelligence and school subjects was not divulged.

That the "qualifications" of most Negroes are not the same as Whites', as the Courts were led to believe, but are lower, was not revealed.

That the average Negro is chronologically older for grade than Whites, and below Whites in mental-age-for-grade and school skills, was concealed.

Even NAACP's protagonist of racial equality in intelligence now concedes the well known fact that Negro children average below Whites in measured intelligence.

There is no evidence of "pathogenicity" to Negro children from segregated schools, but rather of "pathogenicity" from desegregated schools as shown by truancy, nervous habits, home deserting and juvenile delinquency.

CONCLUSIONS

Desegregated schools worsen the plight of most Negro children causing maladjustment, lasting trauma, unhappiness and delinquency.

Segregated schools are helpful to the average Negro child scholastically and temperamentally.

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A SURVEY OF ALBINISM AMONG THE BANTU OF SOUTH AFRICA

By H. W. HITZEROTH and J. D. J. HOFMEYR

Part I

FEMALES

Albinos are for obvious reasons very useful for population genetical studies. It was therefore decided to determine the frequency of albinism among the female Bantu of South Africa, with reference to:

(*a*) the average proportion of albinos among all Bantu females;

(*b*) the frequency of albinos within the different ethnic groups;

(*c*) the significance of the differences in frequencies between the ethnic groups.

By definition, albinism entails the complete or nearly complete suppression of melanin synthesis in specific epithelial cells or melanoblasts. However, it has been reported repeatedly that different kinds of albinism occur in man.

(i) In the usual form of albinism, which is determined by a recessive gene, the conversion of 3,4-dioxyphenylalanine (DOPA) to melanin by the enzyme tyrosinase is either blocked or insufficient (Sinnott, Dunn and Dobzhansky 1958, and Verschuer 1959).

(ii) A second type of albinism, which is presumably caused by a dominant gene, has apparently been encountered in one pedigree. (A recessive gene action is not impossible in this particular pedigree). It is not known which particular biochemical step in the synthesis of melanin is blocked in this case (Pipkin and Pipkin 1942). It seems that this type of albinism is extremely rare and furthermore no conclusive evidence has since been forwarded in support of a dominant inheritance of albinism (Stern 1949).

The types of albinism mentioned above are generally referred to as complete albinism. According to Verschuer (1959) cases were also found which were classified as:

(iii) Incomplete albinism. In this case the melanin production is partially reduced and a recessive as well as an incomplete

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dominant mode of inheritance could be determined (Falls 1953).

(iv) Albinism circumscriptures. This spotted pattern of albinism was found to be due to a dominant mutation.

(v) Albinism of the eye, which is apparently caused by a sex-linked recessive gene.

The genetic relationship of these different types is not known.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

The data analysed was obtained from the Bantu Reference Bureau of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The photographs of 4,138,386 Bantu females, representing practically all the Bantu females of the Republic of South Africa above 16 years of age, are available in this Reference Bureau. The photographs are well suited for sorting out albinos. It is estimated that 1 to 2 per cent of Bantu females could have escaped the attention of the officials of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and are consequently not represented by photographs. It is assumed that mostly aged and sick women were overlooked, which may of course include more albinos than one would usually find in a sample of 1 to 2 per cent. This would mean that the calculated frequency in Table I may represent a slight underestimate of the actual frequency.

From these passport photographs no distinction could be made between some types of albinism. However, incomplete albinism and albinism confined to the eyes can safely be excluded from this assessment, as they were probably not recognised as such. Individuals with spotted albinism were excluded whenever pigmentless patches were detected on the otherwise normally pigmented faces and necks. Cases of xeroderma pigmentosum may also have been encountered on the photos. Freckled and spotted faces and necks, in this case caused by a hypersensitivity of the skin to sun rays, were discarded, however, in any event, so that individuals with xeroderma pigmentosum can safely be assumed to have been eliminated.

The data under analysis is therefore predominantly composed of cases with the usual recessive and complete type of albinism. The few possible cases of spotted albinism, where the pigmented parts were confined only to areas below the neckline, could not be recognised. There is, however, no reason to believe that these cases were very numerous. Since the evidence for the very rare dominant complete albinism is based on ambiguous and unconfirmed information it can be considered of little importance for this survey. For all practical purposes it can be concluded, consequently, that only the recessive type of albinism is under discussion.

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RESULTS

The results of the survey are given in Table I, from which it follows that the average frequency of albinism, based on practically all female Bantus of South Africa, was one in 14,833. The lowest rate, one in 46,991, was found among the Tonga, while the Tswana showed the highest frequency of one in 9060. There is no doubt that the range of frequencies between the ethnic groups is very large. As a comparison it may be noted that the frequency of albinism in a European population (England) is given as one in 20,000 (Sinnott, Dunn and Dobzhansky 1958).

TABLE I

Frequency of albinos among females of the South African Bantu ethnic groups. (The gene frequencies were calculated from the phenotypic frequencies of albinos and consequently they should be interpreted under the assumption of a Hardy-Weinberg equilibrium).

Ethnic Group	Number Counted	Number of Albinos	Number of Individuals to one Albino	Gene Frequency (per cent)
Xhosa	1,281,242	76	16,858	0.7702
Zulu	1,130,733	72	15,705	0.7979
Swazi	141,665	15	9,444	1.0290
Ndebele	106,268	9	11,808	0.9203
South Sotho	436,579	37	11,799	0.9206
Tswana	344,278	38	9,060	1.0510
North Sotho	482,400	27	17,867	0.7482
Tonga	140,972	3	46,991	0.4613
Venda	74,249	2	37,124	0.5191
TOTAL	4,138,386	279	14,833	0.8211

An analysis to determine the correlation between the size of each ethnic group and the rate of albinism yielded a negative value of 0.272, which was not significant at the 5 per cent level. Had this correlation coefficient been significantly negative it would lend good support to the assumption that smaller population sizes, or inbreeding, could increase the frequency of albinism. In this case, however, the evidence is only vague and insignificant with the result that the assumption of any such causal relationship remains doubtful.

The differences in the frequencies at which albinism occurs between the various ethnic groups were subjected to the usual Chi-square analysis, the results of which are listed in Table II.

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TABLE II

Comparison and Chi-square Significance Test of the Frequencies of Albinism between the various Bantu Ethnic Groups.

ETHNIC GROUPS			RATIO			CHI-SQUARE VALUE
Xhosa	:	Zulu	16,858	:	15,705	0.1859
Xhosa	:	Swazi	16,858	:	9,444	4.3239*
Xhosa	:	Ndebele	16,858	:	11,808	1.0314
Xhosa	:	S. Sotho	16,858	:	11,799	3.2006
Xhosa	:	Tswana	16,858	:	9,060	10.0889†
Xhosa	:	N. Sotho	16,858	:	17,867	0.0672
Xhosa	:	Tonga	16,858	:	46,991	3.3078
Xhosa	:	Venda	16,858	:	37,124	1.2786
Zulu	:	Swazi	15,705	:	9,444	3.2793
Zulu	:	Ndebele	15,705	:	11,808	0.6554
Zulu	:	S. Sotho	15,705	:	11,799	2.0121
Zulu	:	Tswana	15,705	:	9,060	7.7195†
Zulu	:	N. Sotho	15,705	:	17,867	0.3271
Zulu	:	Tonga	15,705	:	46,991	3.8187
Zulu	:	Venda	15,705	:	37,124	1.5313
Swazi	:	Ndebele	9,444	:	11,808	0.2817
Swazi	:	S. Sotho	9,444	:	11,799	0.5313
Swazi	:	Tswana	9,444	:	9,060	0.0186
Swazi	:	N. Sotho	9,444	:	17,867	4.0542*
Swazi	:	Tonga	9,444	:	46,991	7.9419†
Swazi	:	Venda	9,444	:	37,124	3.8565*
Ndebele	:	S. Sotho	11,808	:	11,799	0.0000
Ndebele	:	Tswana	11,808	:	9,060	0.5136
Ndebele	:	N. Sotho	11,808	:	17,867	1.1747
Ndebele	:	Tonga	11,808	:	46,991	5.0199*
Ndebele	:	Venda	11,808	:	37,124	2.3928
S. Sotho	:	Tswana	11,799	:	9,060	1.3163
S. Sotho	:	N. Sotho	11,799	:	17,867	2.7258
S. Sotho	:	Tonga	11,799	:	46,991	6.1981*
S. Sotho	:	Venda	11,799	:	37,124	2.7800
Tswana	:	N. Sotho	9,060	:	17,867	7.5633†
Tswana	:	Tonga	9,060	:	46,991	9.3980†
Tswana	:	Venda	9,060	:	37,124	4.4494*
N. Sotho	:	Tonga	17,867	:	46,991	2.7276
N. Sotho	:	Venda	17,867	:	37,124	1.0412
Tonga	:	Venda	46,991	:	37,124	0.0659

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

† Highly significant at the 1 per cent level.

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DISCUSSION

It follows from Table II that in five comparisons of ethnic groups the rates at which albinism occurred differed highly significantly, while in six additional cases significant differences were recorded.

According to the data underlying this survey, inbreeding as deduced from the total number in each ethnic group appeared unrelated to the rate at which albinism occurs. Genetic drift is known to be highly effective whenever low frequencies are involved. In this investigation, however, the number within each ethnic group seems too large to have any significant effect on the occurrence of albinism, except possibly in the cases of the Tonga and Venda (see Table I) in which random sampling may have had some influence. However, these two ethnic groups are only involved in six of the comparisons showing significant and highly significant differences. The other five cases involve a comparison with either the Swazi or the Tswana, both of which have a very high frequency of albinos (see Table II). From these facts it appears obvious that other causes for the differential frequencies will have to be considered.

Unfortunately no further analysis could be made at this stage to determine the mutation rate. Should it be possible to assess the selective disadvantage under which the albinos reproduce, it would be possible to deduce the mutation rate from the phenotypic frequency according to the formula $u=s.x$ (where u=mutation rate, s=selection coefficient, and x=frequency of phenotypes) (Verschuer 1959). Until the reproduction rate of albinos can be estimated, either by population or by pedigree studies, no conclusion on the mutation rate can be made.

It was pointed out that the size of the ethnic groups apparently produced no inbreeding effect, nor was there any convincing evidence for the occurrence of genetic drift. Likewise a differential mutation rate between the ethnic groups must be eliminated as an explanation for the varying rate of albinism, since there is no evidence to support such a hypothesis. A possible answer to the unusual differences in the observed frequencies of albinism may, however, be found in the different marriage systems of the ethnic groups. These marriage systems can obviously have an inbreeding effect, as a consequence of which a number of small genetic isolates are formed within each ethnic group. The Sotho ethnic groups (*i.e.*, Tswana, South Sotho and North Sotho) have a marriage system according to which a man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle. On the other hand the Nguni ethnic groups (*i.e.*, Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi and Ndebele) practise a form of exogamy in their marriage system. The Tonga and Venda differ somewhat in their marriage systems from the Nguni and Sotho tribes and

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will not affect the further discussion (Schapiro 1946). When examining Table I it appears that the four ethnic groups with the highest frequency of albinos (in which some inbreeding, resulting from a particular marriage system, could have taken place) equally belong to the Nguni (Swazi and Ndebele) and the Sotho (South Sotho and Tswana) groups. Notwithstanding the probable inbreeding effect of the Sotho marriage system, it thus remained undetected in this survey.

CONCLUSION

The large and sometimes significant variations in the frequency of albinism between the ethnic groups seemed not to result from any large scale inbreeding (due to the size of each group), genetic drift or small scale inbreeding (due to the marriage systems). The most promising further step in order to explain the observed phenomenon would be to make individual pedigree studies and to estimate the degree of inbreeding, if any, which had taken place in each case, and to determine the selective disadvantage under which albinos (including those of other than the recessive genotype) reproduce. It would be of great value, for instance, to determine the social status of an albino; is he regarded as a pathological abnormality, thus having weak reproductive chances, or are albinos considered to be of supernatural origin, making them unusually popular as marriage partners? The rate of reproduction could probably be determined from the pedigrees and would yield useful information from which the approximate mutation rate could be deduced.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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* Another factor which may be involved is human geography. The albino is probably at a disadvantage as far as survival in a hot country is concerned. Geographical conditions in which the albino is at a greater disadvantage than elsewhere will therefore have their effect. Clothing and the geographical and cultural conditions which make it necessary or undesirable will also have a bearing on the problem.—EDITOR.

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ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON A VISIT TO SOUTH WEST AFRICA

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

In 1963 the writer visited South West Africa in company with Professor J. D. J. Hofmeyr (Pretoria University), Professor C. D. Darlington (Oxford University) and Dr James Gregor (Hawaii University). During this visit some ethnological observations were made of the racial types and of some of the results of cross-breeding (where the tribal boundaries had become blurred under the impact of the disturbances created by the advance of modern civilisation). The following notes of the country and of the racial types encountered there were made at this time. It is hoped that the accompanying photographs will be of some value in helping to disentangle the ethnology investigated.

The Territory of the South West

The whole of the country we covered is desert and belongs to the complex of desertlands called the Kalahari. However the Kalahari is not that intense development of desert such as is found in the Sahara. Large areas of it are intensely arid savannah land consisting of stunted trees, scrub bushes and grass which grows when rains fall. The rainy season, such as it is, is in the early part of the year, and a little rain again falls in October—although exceptionally, and for the first time for many years, rain was falling in Keetmanshoop in June during our visit. It normally rains at the Cape at this time of the year, because the southern tip of Africa has a Mediterranean climate, and this may have been a freak extension of that weather northwards into this area.

As may be imagined in such conditions of terrain, the population is extremely sparse. Viewing the landscape from the air and following a main railway line through this desert region, here and there are a few rivers and streams which are practically dried up. Many of these have small dams or ponds, made artificially to contain the spates when they come from the sudden and scanty rainfalls. Thus there are small extents of water in this otherwise arid landscape

The aridity of this country is illustrated in its bleakness by Figures 1 to 3 taken from the aeroplane. Figures 4 and 5 show there are numerous scrub growths of trees in some places. In Figure 4 will be seen one of the farms where White settlers, with astonishing courage, in complete isolation from neighbours, win a living out

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of the scanty pastures. Figure 6 shows one of the artificial tanks in these desert lands. In places where the savannah conditions are more pronounced than those of the desert, perseverance by the White settlers has resulted in afforestation as shown in Figures 6, 7 and 8. The quality of these photographs has much to be desired, but this may be excused in the light of the fact that they were taken from our small aeroplane (Figure 9).

The Peoples of South West Africa

South West Africa is far from being an ethnologically homogeneous region. On the contrary it contains many diverse racial groups. Under no circumstances is it possible to think of the evolution of a South West African nation as a natural entity, or even of this as a possibility in the future, for the region contains several distinct racial stocks, let alone tribes and peoples.

In general it may be said that it is not easy to get exact ethnological definitions and identifications because many of these peoples are inclined to call themselves one thing when, in fact, they are another. Much acculturation is going on all the time in certain regions, and it is in such places that these difficulties arise in particular. This statement should not be taken to be a contradiction to what we have already said about the distinctness of the stocks in South West Africa, and the impossibility to conceive of the natural evolution to a unified nationhood in time. It should, rather, be taken to mean that in certain borderland areas there is considerable confusion, but the main stocks for all that remain quite distinct, in fact racially very self-conscious, and not at all wishful to coalesce with other stocks which are racially and culturally different from themselves.

The Bushmen

Of the stocks to be found in South West Africa the Bushmen are, as is well known, spread throughout large areas of the territory. They were in former times even spread much further afield, indeed further to the north east in Africa. It is, in fact, our view that they probably existed right up into north-eastern Africa in early times.

They are yellow-skinned, broad-skulled, broad-faced, stocky people, and steatopygy (fat buttocks) is a marked feature in their womenfolk. This characteristic, which is shared with the Hottentots, probably indicates an evolution during many millennia in a dry and arid environment such as exists over much of Africa, not only in the Sahara but from Somalia in the north-east down to the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa. Probably the fat buttocks provide a store of fat (in the same way as the hump on Indian cattle) which is particularly valuable to the women who have to

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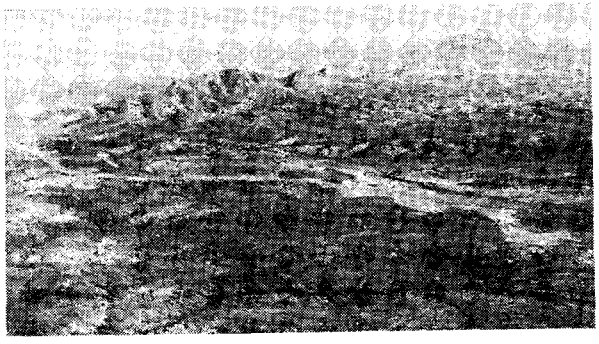

Fig. 1

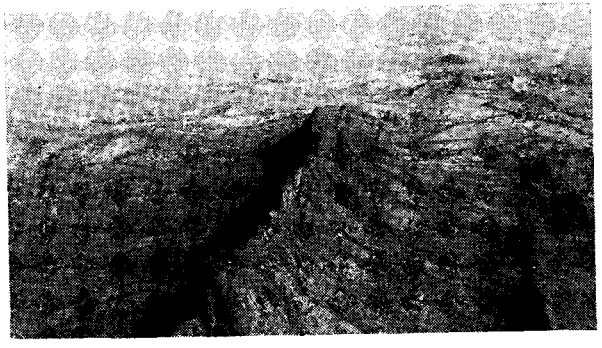

Fig. 2

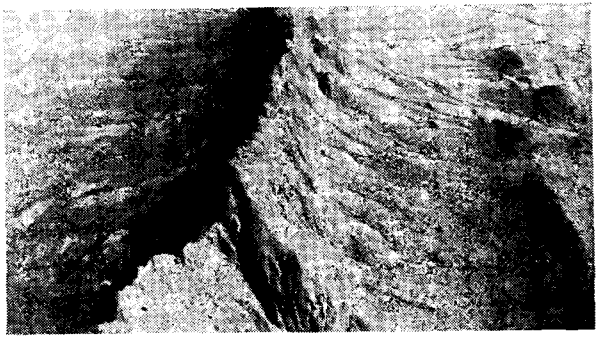

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

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Fig. 5

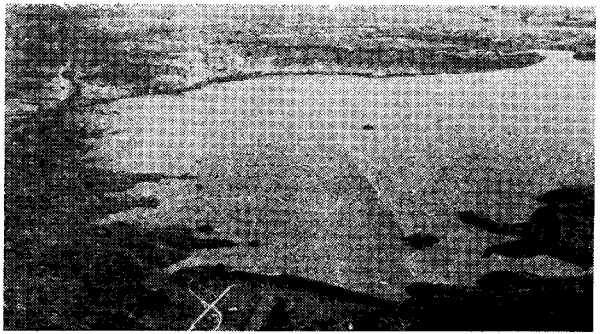

Fig. 6

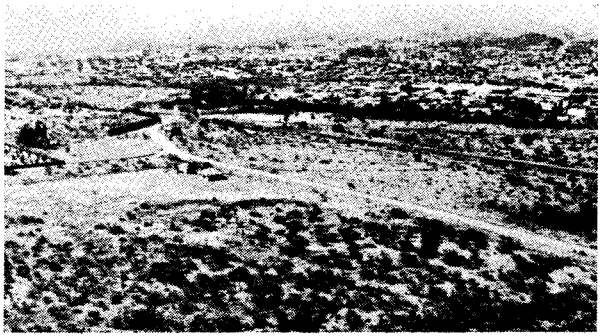

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

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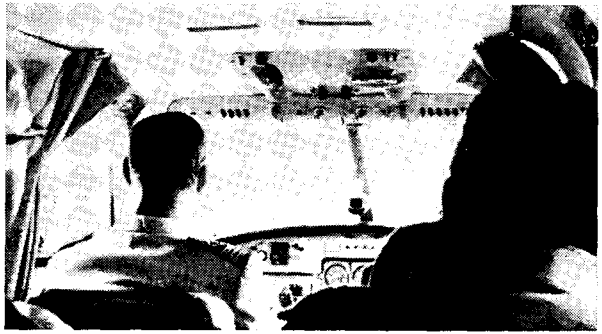

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

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bear children in conditions of the greatest rigour due to the arid nature of the environment over long periods of the year. The eyes of the Bushmen have a strong tendency to slant, and the Mongoloid or epicanthic fold is normal. They have a very close relationship in many of these characteristics to the Hottentots, and together these two stocks form what some call the Cappoids. Some believe this to be a distinct branch of humanity, ranking equally with Caucasoid, Negroid, and so on. We, however, are unconvinced as to this, and lean to the earlier theory that it is the result of an ancient Mongoloid cross—each of the stocks, Bushmen and Hottentots, in fact constituting racial breeds compounded out of a cross which took place between a dark and a Mongoloid stock, at some remote period, probably much further north. They constitute parallels to similar crosses with broad skulls, represented by the Negritoes, which occur in Asia. If this is so it is likely that the dark stock which has contributed to the Cappoid may have been partly Australoid rather than Negroid, and this would go far to account for the fact that Negroid features are largely absent from the Cappoids. In the Bushmen the crinkly pepper-corn type of hair might be due to Negroid infusions or to an independent mutation. Obviously there must be a selective value in this type of hair in the hot conditions of Africa, and so it could easily become established by a drift of genes for it from one stock to another through occasional miscegenation between them. What strikes the observer forcibly is that the Bushmen (and to a large degree also the Hottentots) have not just one or two but a series of characters which are otherwise Mongoloid. It seems to be asking too much of the law of chance to attribute all these characters to chance mutations, simulating in the Cappoid characters which otherwise are only found as a whole in the Mongoloids. Thus we have the broad face, broad skull, proportionately broad body build, yellow skin, slanting eyes, epicanthic folds, high cheek bones, and so on. Since archaeologists, at least some of them, believe that the palaeolithic culture was brought to South Africa by the Bushmen from northern Africa, or even Europe, it is quite evident that at one time they were roving over territories where admixture with peoples carrying Mongoloid genes (if they were not true Mongoloids themselves) was possible. That Mongoloids have more than once reached Africa is evident from the fact that at Zimbadwe evidence of trade with China has been found; from the fact that Malays have settled in Madagascar and Africa, and finally from the fact that the Cape of Good Hope was known to the Chinese—as the Cape of Storms. Therefore contact with the Mongoloids having occurred in these instances suggests that it is not impossible that in earlier and more primitive times the Cappoids of Africa could have come into contact with Mongoloid strains.

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The religion of the Bushmen is such that they have no concrete idea of God, but their legends indicate an idea of an All-Father. However, in such matters it is always difficult for those outside of the mysteries of a group to learn its inmost beliefs and these may be more concrete than appear on the surface.

Although the Bushmen were formerly entirely nomadic many are no longer so, and it is usually among these that signs of cross-breeding are evident. In fact, if our theory is correct that the Bushmen originated in the north and have gradually pressed south, then they have been overrun by conquerors for thousands of years, and in that process there have always been Bushmen on the frontiers of the invading civilisations who were in process of cultural decay and absorption into the alien cultures where, as a serf class to the invaders, they were becoming cross-bred by their women being taken by their masters. Consequently Bushmanoid characters have been passing in the course of time into the dominant racial groups as they have overrun the Bushmen. Thus, when we see settled Bushmen speaking the languages of other peoples and working for them, we are observing no new phenomenon, but one which has been operative all the time. The free Bushmen folk are the remnant of a much greater spread of peoples who are now pressed further and further into the inaccessible wastes of the Kalahari. The lack of purity of breed, therefore, is in no small measure to be associated with a failure to maintain their nomadism.

The Bushmen in South West Africa are found mainly in the north-eastern section of the territory, in and around such places as Grootfontein, Gobabis, East Ovamboland and Okavango. In addition Bushmen may be found on some of the farms in the region south of Windhoek. Bushmen have also been the victims of raids in which they have been carried away into the British High Commission Territory of Bechuanaland.

The Bushmen folk are normally monogamous but like most primitive peoples polygamy is not unknown. One investigation showed that while all the population of 185 persons were married there were in the group 88 men and 97 women.

All Bushmen do not speak their own language, as we have already indicated, since in places where acculturation is advanced they come to speak the languages of the people who are dominating them. In South West Africa, however, the tendency is for them to speak the languages of the Namas, a Hottentot people.

The Bushman language is divided into more than one dialect. Their speech has some relationship to the languages of the Hottentot group, which is not surprising in view of the racial characters which the two races have in common. What is surprising, however, is that the Bushman (and Hottentot) languages have similarities to the speech of the Bantu Zulu and the Xhosa, in that these

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peoples have also the Cappoid "click" in their speech. This may, however, be explained on the basis that the Cappoids were formerly located much further north and were overrun by the later coming Bantus, as a consequence of which these Southern Bantus, through both racial and cultural mingling with the ancestors of the Bushmen and Hottentots, came to assume from them the "click" in their speech.

The Hottentots

The Hottentots are thought to derive their European name (which incidentally they resent) from a corruption of the clicking sounds in their speech as imitated by the Cape Dutch, or else from a Dutch word for stutterers. They are largely homogeneous, and are a markedly yellow race of Mongolian appearance, decidedly more so than the Bushmen whose Mongoloid character we have already remarked upon. They have the high, broad cheek bones, slanting eyes, epicanthic folds, short stature (although not as short as the Bushmen), and the same black hair and eyes. They are found throughout much of South West Africa, as well as in the southern part of South Africa. With the Bushmen they occupied Southern Africa before the arrival of the Negroid Bantu and the Whites.

Their language has been classified by some with the Hamitic languages of Africa, but now authorities are inclined to classify them linguistically with the Bushmen. But the fact remains that there are characteristics in their speech which link them with north African tribes such as the Hamitics. In view of the fact that the direction in which they differ physically from the Bushmen tends towards strains which would indicate a fairer and less Negroid admixture, it would seem reasonable to assume that they are the result of a mixture of a primitive Cappoid or Bushman strain with an early Hamitic one. Again, if this is so, we are driven to north-eastern Africa, at least, for the original homelands of both stocks. Since the Hamitic (as we use the term for African peoples today), is, in the writer's view, a racial breed compounded of a Melanoid stock on the one hand and a Caucasoid stock on the other (although the original Hamitic languages and peoples, such as those represented by the Berbers and ancient Egyptians, were of White derivation), this would be consistent with the appearance of the Hottentots as we find them today. Their yellow complexion and almost complete lack of nigrescence, as seen in the purer types to be found in South West Africa, indicate a type which could have arisen from a racial crossing in which Caucasoid genes were involved with Mongoloid, and in which Negroid is at a minimum. It is not surprising that the Dutch settlers called them the Chinese Hottentots. Only in the pepper-corn hair is there a clear Negroid

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trait, and while this may be derived from Negroid admixture it could have arisen, as with the Bushman, from an independent mutation. As in the case of the Bushmen, steatopygy is a marked feature.

At one time the Hottentots must have lived in Rhodesia on their passage to the south, and there are reasons to believe that they may even have been associated with, but not necessarily the founders of, the civilisation of Zimbadwe. Later they were pushed south by the advance of the Bantu. We may remark, *en passant*, that the Bantu Negro nationalists in calling themselves the Zimbadwe Peoples' Party are pretending to an ancestry and cultural heritage to which they have no shadow of right, because there were no Negroes in Zimbadwe at all. Whoever else was there it seems reasonable to stake a claim for the Hottentots also.

It does not follow that the Bushman and Hottentot peoples we now meet represent the highest levels of their cultures, since their forced migrations south, and their gradual migration for refuge into the arid regions of South West Africa and of South Africa, may in fact have produced a decline in their cultures. We may very well be seeing these peoples today not in a state of evolution but rather of involution and decay.

Their name for themselves is Khoi-Khoin, meaning "the People." The term now given to these two stocks of the Cappoids (Bushmen and Hottentots collectively) is the Khoi-San. Incidentally it should be observed that the Hottentots consider it an insult to be called "Blacks"—which they certainly are not. The most important tribal group of the Hottentots, and the principal one in South West Africa, is that of the Namas.

It is said that, owing to the difficulty of the Hottentot languages, they are in danger of resorting to other tongues for means of communication, under the impact of other cultures and education. This certainly militates against the spread of the language. For the Southern Bantu to have adopted characteristics of Hottentot (and Bushman) speech, such as the click, rather suggests they must have absorbed at one stage a considerable amount of Hottentot blood. For it is not normal for difficult sounds and forms of speech to be adopted by a conqueror unless there has been intermarriage. This surely explains the occurrence of yellowish skins and Mongoloid features among some of the Bantu in the Transvaal and Natal.

The Hottentots consist of a number of exogamous pastoral and patrilineal clans. Nevertheless, unlike the Bushmen, they had the knowledge of how to smelt iron but, curiously enough, did not possess the art of rock engraving for which the Bushmen are famous. This is, however, consistent with an origin such as we have suggested.

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The Hottentots not only consider themselves superior to the "Blacks" but also to the Bushmen, whom they often exterminated in the past because they considered them cattle thieves—this is the everlasting struggle between the hunting and collecting economy of the more primitive culture and the pastoral one of the more advanced. The Bergdama, whom we shall shortly describe, were held by the Hottentots in particular contempt. The Bantu speaking Herero, with whom they came into contact only in more recent times, and with whom they disputed large areas of South West Africa for the grazing rights, were subservient to them for a time until eventually the Herero freed themselves from Hottentot domination, and in fact worsted them. Although the Hottentots have always been considered a lazy people, they were enrolled by the British into a Hottentot Regiment.

The Griquas

The Griquas were originally an actual tribe of Hottentots, called the Grigriquas in the seventeenth century, and were settled near Saldanha Bay. Later they became mixed with Europeans and then migrated to the northern frontier of Cape Province near the Orange River. Eventually they settled in Griqualand, where they had a Volksraad, and some remnants of their rights are still retained by them. They have also to some extent entered into the ancestry of the Basters. They have, however, been a far less successful cross than the Bastards. This might well be due to the fact that while the Bastards or Basters were compounded from a similar cross they continued to cross with Europeans right down to the German period in South West Africa, and so are very much more European —wholly so in some cases—than the Griquas, most of whom are in fact as close to the Hottentot as the upper class Bastard is to the European. The Bastards are an instance of a largely successful cross, because they have crossed and re-crossed mainly with European blood and so moved steadily towards the European in type, whereas the Griquas are an instance of an unsuccessful cross which has lost most of the European genes (or at least they are not very obvious) and has drifted steadily back towards the Hottentot type from which they derive their tribal name.

The Griquas have been a dying people for some time, and a consideration of their hybrid strain has led some to conclude that there is a danger of extinction in racial crossing. This is not supported by a consideration of the Bastards—although there is a difference since they are actually tending to breed more and more towards the European type.

The Bergdama or Bergdamara

The Bergdama are an ancient people in South West Africa

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whose origin is unknown, except that it is believed that they arrived in South West Africa from the direction of the Transvaal before the arrival of the Hottentots. They are a people of Negroid origin and so are much darker that the Bushmen or the Hottentots, and they show a tendency to more Negroid features. But they obviously have some blood of the other two stocks, probably that of the Hottentots in particular, to whom they have long been subjected, and whose Nama language they speak. They are variously known as Bergdama, Bergdamara, Klipkaffir, Sandkaffir, and by other names as well. The name by which they are known to the Nama Hottentots is Chou-Dama. This name reflects the strong racialist feeling of the Namas as well as their contempt for the Bergdamas, for in their use of the term it means "the Black Human Excrement." The Herero, who are a Black Bantu people, serve them no better, for they call them Ovazorotua, which is equally uncomplimentary. Their own name for themselves is Nu-Khoin, which means "the Black People." This term is in contradistinction to the colour of the Bushmen and the really light-skinned yellow Hottentots. They are short-statured, dark, black-skinned and, as has already been pointed out, Negroid. However, this latter statement requires some qualification. They are Negroid in comparison with the Cappoids, but they are not so markedly so if we compare them with the typical Negroids of the Congo. There are two reasons for this. First of all as the serfs and vassals of the Hottentots they have, no doubt, absorbed some Hottentot blood. Secondly, although their language is Nama Hottentot it contains words which appear in tongues spoken in North Africa—such as the Sudan. Therefore there may be some Hamitic elements in them as well.

The free Bergdama people who escaped actual enslavement were driven into the more inhospitable parts of South West Africa, first by the Hottentots and then by the Herero, and so came to live in dire poverty. They are thought of as a dirty people with filthy habits who regard water as dangerous—but this might have been the result of their degradation. Being a people without any extensive stock, with a mainly collecting and hunting economy, and no real rights in land even for territorial hunting, they easily took to labouring for the Europeans.

How low the Damas are in the eyes of their neighbours is illustrated by the fact that although the Herero may live with Bergdama women they deny them the right to be regarded as wives. Again, in a certain reserve, while the Herero were quite ready to send their own children to a new school hostel, when they found that there would be Bergdama children there as well they withdrew them at once.

Polygamy used to be common among them, and some of them

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had as many as four or five wives. They appear to have consisted of clans and tribes without any political structure binding them together. In numbers they are today about 40,000 people. Their religion, as far as it can be ascertained, appears to be some form of indistinct monotheism which includes the worship of the Holy Fire.

In the urbanised areas we run into greater difficulty than elsewhere in obtaining exact tribal classification. This is particularly true where such as the Dama are concerned. Because they speak Nama Hottentot, Damas will call themselves Hottentots—although the latter would not recognise the relationship.

In Figures 10 to 12 are examples of Hottentot speaking Damas. It will be seen that some of them, the woman with the pipe in particular, have unmistakable Hottentot blood, as is shown by the Mongoloid type of face—the flat features, slanting eyes, epicanthic fold, high cheek bones and light complexion. In view of this Mongoloid appearance, which survives so distinctly even in a mongrelised group, it is no wonder the Dutch settlers, coming upon the Hottentots proper at the Cape, called them the Chinese Hottentots, and thought they were a Chinese tribe.

As we have already indicated, the condition of the Damas is generally a poor one, and where they have settled in urban areas they tend to live in hovels such as those against which these photographs were taken. It should, however, be observed in passing that the authorities are doing a great deal to re-house these and other people in better conditions, although this is not easy, for primitive peoples with no tradition of urban living bring with them habits which are tolerable in the open spaces they and their ancestors have inhabited from the beginning of time, but which soon turn any urbanised area into a slum, despite all educational work which officials attempt to carry out.

Where these peoples are re-housed and become more or less settled town dwellers their tribal affiliations wear thin or are lost altogether, and tribal crossing occurs. These urban settlements are, therefore, racial, tribal, cultural, and linguistic "shatter-belts" —and there can be little doubt that they are equally degenerative on the customs and moral principles of the people who settle in them.

The Herero

The Herero are a Bantu speaking people who came into South West Africa from Central Africa or even perhaps Northern Africa by way of the Caokoveld. Like all the other peoples of this territory they are pastoralists. While they are dark compared with the lighter peoples of the South West territory they are in fact by Negro

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standards a light-coloured people. There are also several other tribes who, because of their speech, are classified as Herero.

The main characteristics of the Herero are the tall stature and more Negroid features than those of the Bushmen and Hottentots. However, there is a mixture of other types in the Herero, and among these it seems that some Hamitic element may be involved. This probably in part accounts for lighter skin than is common in the typical Negroids, as well as for the less prognathous profile to the face, and the less broad nostrils and lips. The Ovahimva, although they speak Herero, do not appear to be anything like as tall, upstanding and dignified as the Herero, and they may be more Negroid. The Herero are strongly endogamous, and through this tendency to marry among themselves they have largely preserved the uniformity of their own type. They are very conscious of the racial differences which exist between them and the yellow-skinned Hottentots, and between them and the black Bergdama, and they constantly remind themselves that they are the Herero.

The Herero tribes rose in rebellion against the Germans and were severely put down with great losses, but their numbers have since recovered, and they now number about 40,000.

As pastoralists they live upon sour milk as a staple diet, together with fruits, tubers, roots, insects and honey—all of which pastoral mode of life suggests a northern African origin, since they are not indigenous to southern Africa. Their religion is ancestor worship, but many of them have now been converted to Christianity by the Rhine Mission.

The Hereros have always treated other peoples who were in South Africa before them rather badly, enslaving and exterminating the Bushmen and Bergdama.

The Ovambo

There are a number of tribes which are collectively grouped under the name of the Ovambo. They are largely Negroid of the southern Bantu type. Originally they occupied some parts of Angola and Ovamboland. Among them are those of the Ukuayama tribe, who occupy parts of Angola and are to be found in South West Africa as well. This is probably the largest tribe. In 1911 their number was about 80,000, but by 1921 they had reached 90,000. Other tribes of this group are the Odonga, the next in importance, Ombalantu, Onkolonkathi, Ukuambi, Ukualuthi, Ongandjera and Euanda. The Ovambo dialects and languages form a particular group of the Bantu tongues. Most of these tribes live in and around Ovamboland, and they number all told about 200,000.

In their social organisation they are virilocal, that is the wives live in their husbands' locations, although it appears they are

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matrilineal. Polygamy, as might be expected, exists among them. Their religion is a vague monotheism, and their beliefs include practices in connection with spirits, with which ancestor worship is associated. Their abodes are built of wood and thatch, as there is no good stone in Ovamboland. They reside in stockaded kraals, which have a maze formation, and they are usually under some form of effective Chieftainship. This is necessary from the point of view of defence, since Ovamboland is open and flat country where it is necessary to have both defensive dwellings and effective leadership in order to survive.

Most of the peoples of South West Africa are hunters and pastoralists—a situation enforced upon them both by the nature of the territory as well as by their own inherited traditions. In contrast the Ovambo are settled agriculturalists, and although they have cattle they are not pastoralists as such. Ovamboland, like most of the territory, has very few resources for its people, and so they are ever ready to take advantage of work which opens up for them as a consequence of the industries developed by the Whites.

The Ovambo tribes have a native iron industry for the production of such agricultural instruments as axes for chopping trees and hoes for their garden culture. Formerly they had fire-arms, but these were not of native origin, having been obtained by trade along with other articles valued by them, in return for which they exported slaves. The slave trade was carried on by them through Angola. Ovambos captured during tribal disputes were sold by their own peoples.

The Bechuana, Tswana or Sechuna

The Tswana people are not confined to Bechuanaland but also live in South West Africa as well as in South Africa. They are a southern extension of the Bantu who entered these regions in pre-European times. However, they are not a pure Bantu (that is Negroid) type, as they often have a considerable Bushman and Hottentot admixture.

Minor Bantu Tribes

In addition to the foregoing Bantu peoples there are a number of smaller tribes of Bantu speech and Negroid type, all of whom are agriculturalists living in settlements. Among these are the Okavango Bantu, divided into several small tribes, and the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel Bantu, who form a part of the Rotse kingdom founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the country was invaded by Southern Sotho Bantu from Basutoland.

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The Bastards or Basters of Rehoboth

This community of some considerable importance is generally described in South Africa as Cape Coloured. The Cape Coloured are the result, originally, of crosses between early Boer settlers and Hottentot wives. The Bastards as a group arose out of the Cape Coloured community which gradually took shape a century and a half ago in the area of the Kree mountains in the Cape Province of South Africa. The movement of European farmers northwards compelled these people to cross the Orange River in about 1867.

The ancestors of the Bastards of Rehoboth moved into the area of Rehoboth, just south of Windhoek, in 1870. There is little doubt that an appreciable German infusion must have occurred since then, especially when we consider the high degree of blondness among them.

Although they call themselves Bastards or Basters, this designation must not be considered as having any derogatory meaning in their minds. Indeed, on the contrary, they are quite proud of the title and they look upon it as the designation of a people who are clearly superior to the native population. At Rehoboth they form a distinct and recognisable community which has its own Volksraad, or self-government, and they have protection for the perpetuity of inheritance in their lands and rights. Their original government was under a Captain or Chief, who was a member of the van Wyk family. He had six councillors, the senior of whom was called a Magistrate, and a Deputy Chief. These functionaries were elected but in fact the offices were more or less hereditary. According to the 1906 Treaty with the German Government the Chief was the recognised head of the community, but since then this has been changed and the Magistraat now presides over the Council and has assumed the powers of the former Chief. The territory of the Bastards (which is called the Rehobothgebiet) is of a considerable extent, and in comparison with the native populations generally they are a substantial people. (As is well known the standard work on this people is Eugen Fischer's *Die Rehobothe Bastards und das Bastarderungsproblem beim Menschen*).

German-Bantu crosses, such as German-Herero, have certain characteristics in common with those of the Bastards, but they are more Negroid. But because of the similarities to the Bastards there is a tendency for such crosses to be called and classified as Cape Coloureds, and so by extension to become known as Bastards. But in fact they are not the same at all, for the Bastards have very little, if any, Negroid blood, and they are European-Hottentot crosses with the emphasis on the former element among large sections of the people. The mother tongue of the Bastards is Nama

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Hottentot, which they speak in their homes, but they are also Afrikaans speaking.

The names and families of the Bastards are organised on a European basis, and they have the same tendency as the Europeans to divide up into class segregations. The upper class among them contains such names as van Wyk, Koopman, Mouton, Beukes and Diergaart. Not only are these the more intelligent and energetic families, as would be indicated in general by their class position, but they are also the more European in appearance. Among the lower class such names as Engelbrecht, Vrey, Vries and Orlam, for instance, are common. The class segregation, therefore, is based to a significant extent on the segregation of European genes which is maintained because of the principles underlying the considerations involved in marriage. No man from the lower classes is permitted, at least where it can be prevented, to marry a girl from the upper classes. How racially close many of the Bastards are to the Europeans, as the segregation of genes occurs, may be observed from the fact that daughters of upper class Bastard families have in the past often been given in marriage to Europeans.

In Rehoboth there are quite a number of Hottentots, Bergdama and Hereros who do the menial and heavy work for the Bastards. This work is mainly pastoral as agriculture is not really possible because South West Africa is a largely arid zone fit at its best, except for certain areas, only for a sparse ranching economy.

The Cape Coloured

As we see it this term should only be used for the White-Hottentot crosses. But, as has become apparent from what we have said earlier, there is a tendency to use this term loosely. This is partly due to Europeans using it for any type of White-native cross, and also because among the Negroid-White, and sometimes even Negroid-Hottentot, crosses there is an active desire to be classified as Cape Coloured. Throughout most parts of the world, and not least in Southern Africa, there is a great desire to be lighter rather than darker skinned. The Hottentots are light and consider themselves superior to the Black Damas; the Europeans are White, and even the upper classes among the Bantu tend to be lighter than the rest of their tribes.

This desire to be classified as Cape Coloured, therefore, leads to Negro-White crosses being so called and thus equated with the true Cape Coloureds. It also means that when visiting de-tribalised Africans one will often find them calling themselves Cape Coloured when in fact they have little, or no, or at the best only a tenuous, claim to the designation. Thus a de-tribalised Dama may call himself Cape Coloured on the score that his mother had Cape

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Coloured blood, although his father was a Black Dama. (Incidentally, such racial mixture results from de-tribalisation in urbanised areas). Another factor which should be observed is that, although in the Negro-White crosses it takes many generations (passing through the stages of mulatto, quadroon and octroon) to segregate out the White or Black genes, it is possible for a Cape Coloured-White cross to segregate out much more rapidly—so that the descendants can soon become very European in character. This is seen in many of the Bastards. The inference would appear to be that genetically the difference between the Hottentots and the Caucasoids is not so great as between the Black and White stocks.

It cannot be emphasised too strongly as far as their physical appearance is concerned that the Namas or Hottentots are as sharply distinguished from the Negroids as are the Mongoloids and Caucasoids. It is unfortunate that most of the English speaking peoples outside South Africa use the term *Coloured* for Black, as the Coloured communities of South Africa are a White-Hottentot cross and so have little in common with the Black races.

While on this subject of classification of the Cape Coloureds it might be observed, in passing, that when we visited a hospital we found that the staff were quite hazy about racial classifications. It seemed that, without exception, anyone who could claim to have a lighter skin could call himself a Cape Coloured and be so recorded in their records, when in many cases he was of course nothing of the kind. It may however be added that in spite of their limited ethnological knowledge the hospital staff, in common with all the social services and government administrative offices, were most solicitous for the welfare of all the Bantu, Hottentots, Cape Coloureds and others in their care or in any way under their jurisdiction. In the case of non de-tribalised Africans the officials were also careful to know to which tribes and linguistic groups they belonged, and by long experience of working among them were able to identify them at a glance. Genetically each major group usually has segregated characters, and in the major stocks, Cappoids and Negroids for instance, these are very marked when one is compared with another. The uncertainties arise in dealing with the hybridised and usually de-tribalised natives and with some so-called Cape Coloureds.

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Who Makes The Environment?

By CHARLES C. JOSEY

Every student of psychology becomes familiar with the statement that a person is the product of his heredity and environment. We know that one's heredity comes from the genes of one's parents. But whence comes one's environment? Is it something that is given an individual by society and nature as his heredity is given him by his parents? Or does the individual, to a considerable degree, make his environment? Because of its theoretical and practical importance, this question should receive careful consideration. Similarly with groups: is the environment something imposed upon a group, or does a group create in a large measure its environment.

When life came into existence on Earth it began at once to create an environment more conducive to its needs. Similarly when man came into existence he set to work to make an environment more congenial to his needs and desires. In this he followed the examples of many other species. For example, birds build nests in which they can better incubate their eggs and care for their young. There are exceptions. The cowbird or the cuckoo does little to change her environment. She lays her eggs in the nests of other birds, and leaves to them the task of incubation and caring for the young. Similarly among men there are parasites who seem to lack creativity, but generally speaking man, through the ages, has worked to make his environment conform more nearly to his needs and desires.

Efforts have been made to evaluate the relative importance of heredity and environment as determinants of behavior and mental development. Stated in these broad terms the problem is insoluble. Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that the individual does a great deal to fashion his environment and that his heredity is an important determinant of how he fashions it. For example, consider two brothers growing up in the home of their parents, who are musicians. One boy has an aptitude for music and enjoys it; the other has no aptitude for music and dislikes it. The boys live in the same home, but one lives in a stimulating environment which he enriches through collecting records and the biographies of great composers; the other lives in a frustrating environment from which he may escape by becoming a sports fan and by covering the walls of his room with autographed pictures of his heroes.

Let us assume there is another brother. He is neither musically nor athletically inclined. Instead, he has strong theoretical interests. He wishes to know and understand, and he creates an

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environment different from that of his brothers. He surrounds himself with books which describe the lives and achievements of great scientists and inventors; he gets a chemistry set; he explores the mystery of radio and builds a set. Of the three brothers, one found the environment offered by the home congenial, and he readily fitted into it. The other two did not, but they had sufficient drive and imagination to create an environment more in harmony with their own aptitudes and interests.

Or consider a woman who goes to pieces following her marriage and needs psychiatric help. Did she go to pieces because of the excessive demands of her husband? Or did she go to pieces because she is an emotionally immature, incompetent person? If the latter, was she made so by over-indulgent parents? Perhaps, but there is also the possibility that she was an excessively dependent person from infancy, who seemed unable to act on her own initiative. Her parents may have been excessively indulgent because she as a child was excessively dependent and demanding.

Furthermore, it is not merely the environment that is an important determinant of our behavior. Of equal importance is how we perceive the environment, and the latter depends not only on our attitudes and values, but also upon our intelligence, aptitudes and temperament. Two boys grow up in a morally degrading home. One perceives the unhappiness of his blighted parents, and resolves to attain the finer things of life. The other accepts the degradation of his parents as an excuse for living a life of vice. Two men are unemployed. Both are painfully frustrated. One perceives his frustration as caused by an unjust social order, and he acts so as to alienate himself from society. The other perceives his frustration as an opportunity to develop new skills and interests, and in so doing changes constructively his environment.

Our values and attitudes may influence more directly our physical environment. Two families of approximately the same income move into adjacent houses of the same general character. One keeps the house in good repair, plants flowers and shrubs, and keeps the grass well mowed. The other prefers to spend its money, time and energy on other things, and as a consequence neglects the house and does nothing to beautify its surroundings. Similar differences may be observed in individuals. Most boys enjoy fishing, playing ball, and idle chatter. Thomas Edison had little interest in these things. He was interested in experimenting, and though his parents and teachers did little to help and encourage him he made an environment more in harmony with his desires and aptitudes.

In changing his physical environment, Edison also changed his social environment. Prior to his inventions he had been looked

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upon as a half-crazy dreamer. Following them he was looked upon with respect and admiration, and before he died he gained the admiration and gratitude of mankind. What Edison did on a grand scale is constantly being done by millions on a small scale. A teenage boy may be held in low esteem by the community in which he lives, but he works hard, perhaps motivated to do so by the attitude of his associates, and achieves vocational success. His vocational success gains for him an honored and respected place in the community, and his new status in turn influences his personality traits.

Because of innate differences in capacities, aptitudes and propensities, what is good for one person may not be good for another. One person may need 4000 calories of food a day; another may need only 2000. A boy who is gifted musically needs a different environment from one who has a strong interest in and aptitude for science. In spite of such obvious facts, we stubbornly insist that all children be taught the same subjects and held to the same standards, and that everyone is qualified, or with proper training can become qualified, for any position. We refuse to admit that people are different in mental capacity and interests, not merely because of environmental differences but also because of differences in heredity—which in no small measure are causes of environmental differences.

The statement that a person is the product of his heredity and environment should be changed to a person is the product of his heredity, environment, and his own efforts. This change is not needed when dealing with low forms of life. An acorn may be endowed with the finest potentialities of an oak, but it will not become a beautiful tree if it is planted in unsuitable soil and denied sufficient water, and neither the acorn nor the sapling can do anything to change its environment. But it is quite different with man. Even as an infant, man is an active and demanding being, and his likes and dislikes, and his techniques of getting what he wants, do much to fashion his environment. As he matures he takes an increasingly important rôle in fashioning himself and in creating an environment more in accordance with his needs, desires, capacities and aspirations.

Man can do this because he is endowed with imagination and the ability to understand, and with the urge to invest his life with meaning and significance. Because man can see himself as he would like to be, his values, ideals, purposes and attitudes are of utmost importance in determining what he does and what he becomes. Since these qualities constitute the inner core of his being, this means that, in so far as they influence his behavior, man is a free, rational being who takes an active part in determining what he is to be. The possession of these traits, of

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course, is limited by one's heredity and environment, but neither heredity nor environment can make an artist or scientist or morally autonomous person out of an ambitionless person who prefers spending his time lazily enjoying the warmth of the sun to practising self-discipline. Capacities will not actualize themselves; nor can the environment create capacities. A person becomes what he is because of his inherited capacities, because of opportunities and encouragement provided by others, and because of his own efforts.

What is true of individuals is doubly true of groups. Consider, for example, the American Indians before the discovery of this hemisphere by Columbus. The Mayas, the Aztecs and the Incas had a variety of unfavorable physical environments. Yet their achievements continue to excite admiration and wonder. How can they be explained? The swamps of the Yucatan were probably no more suitable for the development of the arts than the swamps of the Amazon valley. But the Mayas developed a great civilization, and today their descendants manifest high intellingence and refined aesthetic sensitivity which set them off sharply from the inhabitants of the Amazon valley. Did the hot, steamy swamps of the Yucatan, its long rainy season, and its isolation, create in the Mayas the determination and the capacity to develop the arts in an impressive manner? If so, why did these conditions not prove equally creative in the Amazon valley and in numerous islands of the Pacific? It is a truism to say that civilizations are born of complex conditions, but surely in this complex some place must be found for the creative efforts of man, as these are limited and directed by his native intelligence, aptitudes and propensities.

To live is to actualize one's capacities, and there is a strong propensity to do so. The eagle has the capacity to soar through the sky on its great wings, and it has a strong propensity to do so, and it must do so if it is to live well. Similarly, when an infant's capacity to vocalize has sufficiently developed it has a strong propensity to go through its whole repertoire of sounds, babbling, cooing and gurgling. Likewise, the strong, muscular man has a strong propensity to exercise his muscles. Similarly, men who have the capacity to soar on the wings of imagination, to meditate and to contemplate; men who have the ability to plan, to build, to develop science and philosophy; who have the capacity to enrich their lives through poetry, music and literature, and to invest their lives with meaning through the pursuit of worthy goals; men who have the capacity to develop character and to attain moral autonomy have a strong propensity to do these things, and they must do them if they are to live well. For a person endowed with these capacities not to actualize them would mean frustration, emptiness and unhappiness. The propensity, therefore, to actualize them is the propensity to live and to live richly and fully.

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For this reason we should expect a civilization that has been created by members of a given race to be more congenial to members of that race, and that they would have a greater aptitude and inclination to preserve it than would members of other races. The American Indian, for example, has shown no great eagerness to accept European civilization. The same has been reported of certain tribes in Africa. This expectation may be based either on Darwin's emphasis on the selectivity of the environment or upon Lamarck's emphasis on the adaptation of the organism to environmental conditions, and it has been strengthened by the recent discovery of pleasure and pain, and hunger and thirst centers in the brain.

The Eskimos, for example, developed under exceedingly hard conditions a pattern of life congenial to them and the skills necessary to surmount the hardships of severe and prolonged winters. Europeans who have moved into their land have not found the Eskimo pattern of life congenial, and have brought about many profound changes, perhaps to the detriment of the Eskimos. Similarly, the Caucasians in Europe, the Mongolians in Asia and the Negros in Africa have developed different civilizations. It is reasonable to believe that each race finds its own civilization congenial, not merely because it has become accustomed to it but also because the type of civilization reflects to some extent its innate propensities and aptitudes.

The Caucasians created a written language hundreds of generations ago. Why did they do so? More importantly, are their descendants who have enjoyed for hundreds of generations a literate civilization no different from peoples whose ancestors did not create a literate civilization, and who have enjoyed the advantages of such a civilization for only a few generations? It is interesting to note that some who insist there are no race differences attribute the scholastic failure of Negro children to *de facto* segregation. Do they mean to suggest that Negro children need the presence of white children in order to create an atmosphere more conducive to scholastic learning?

Adequate appreciation of the rôle of the individual, his heredity and environment in determining his growth and development is of practical as well as of theoretical interest. At present there is a tendency to emphasize the importance of environment at the expense of heredity and the creative efforts of the individual. This is understandable. This is a scientific age, and science feels uncomfortable when confronted with creativity and freedom. Furthermore, science likes to stress the observable and variable. Hence its preference for the environment, for the environment is, at least theoretically, an observable variable, whereas heredity, though its source may be known, is unobservable. Because the

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environment can be manipulated and changed, social reformers have stressed its importance. The more doctrinaire reformers who insist that all persons be treated alike must, of course, minimize hereditary differences, for it would be absurd to treat people who differ innately in respect to aptitudes, propensities, interests and level of intelligence in the same way. Decent concern for the happiness and welfare of each individual would prevent that. Politicians have been inclined to emphasize the importance of environment, for by so doing they prepare the way for an extension of the power, duties and responsibilities of government.

Whatever the cause of the exaggerated emphasis on the environment as a determinant of personality and achievement, the consequences have not been good. In the first place, it has engendered widespread resentment among those who are backward educationally, vocationally and morally by encouraging them to hold society responsible for their backwardness. It is as though society had a cure for their difficulty and refused to make it available. In the second place, instead of challenging the backward to show that they have the ability, the will and the character to keep up, it has encouraged them to exaggerate every disadvantage and to minimize the efforts of society to help them. Finally, it has tended to impose upon society an unrealistic responsibility for the happiness and welfare of all its members, and has thereby reduced the sense of personal responsibility and individual worth. Perhaps it will in time have the desirable consequence of compelling us to see that neither a sound social philosophy nor sound social practices can be based on error and distortion.

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THE BIOLOGICAL PROCESSES OF RACE FORMATION

By DONALD A. SWAN

Differences amongst the various races of man have been observed and described as early as the beginning of dynastic times in Ancient Egypt.[1] These observations led others to speculate about the cause of these differences and to advance theories to account for the origin and formation of different races. Many early writers sought to explain race formation in terms of differences in climate and geography, without being too clear as to the processes by which this occurred[2]. Modern scientific thinking on race formation in man, however, had to await the development of the Darwinian theory of evolution based on natural selection, and the later discovery of the Mendelian laws of heredity in the nineteenth century. Since the time of Darwin and Mendel considerable knowledge has been gained of human raciation and evolution. It is the purpose of this article briefly to survey and summarize contemporary thought on the biological processes of race formation in man.

I

Races are formed as the result of the operation of fundamental biological processes related to the nature of heredity. Modern genetics has shown that heredity consists in the transmission of discrete elementary particles known as genes. Genes are molecules of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) which embody the genetic code of all living organisms. They do not blend or lose their individuality in recombination, and are transmitted according to the quantitative principles known as Mendelian laws. The sequence of code letters in the DNA molecules or genes determines the degree of similarity or difference between individuals, families and

[1] Carleton S. Coon, 1939, *The Races of Europe,* Macmillan, New York, pp. 91-98.

[2] Immanuel Kant, 1775, "On the Different Races of Man," in *This is Race* (edited by Earl Count, 1950), Schumann, New York, p. 20: "Man was disposed for all climates and every constitution of ground; it follows that there must have lain in him many sorts of germs and natural dispositions, ready on occasion either to be developed or held back, in order that he may be fitted to his place in the world. . . . Here I shall simply note that air and sun seem to be the causes which can penetrate most deeply into the generative force and can produce a lasting development of the germs and dispositions; *i.e.*, that can found a race."

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races in physical, physiological and psychical characteristics.[3] It is the genes which are shaped by tne basic evolutionary forces governing the formation of the races of man: variation, selection and isolation.

1. *Variation,* or change in the genes over time, is essential for evolutionary development in racial or population groups. Modern science has shown that variation can result from: (*a*) *mutations* in individuals—*i.e.*, alterations in the bio-chemical structure of the gene which occur in all forms of life at predictable frequency rates;[4] (*b*) *genetic recombination* in individuals—*i.e.*, the formation of new gene combinations by crossing-over or segregation during the process of meiosis;[5] and (*c*) *genetic drift* in populations—*i.e.*, random and non-selective changes in the aggregate number of genotypes in a breeding population due to its relatively small size.[6]

2. *Selection* is the process whereby the progeny of the possessors of the more advantageous or successful gene combinations multiply more rapidly than the less advantageous or successful ones. Thus, over a period of time, certain combinations of hereditary characteristics gradually replace other combinations, so that each race is adapted to its own particular geographical and socio-cultural environment.[7]

3. *Isolation,* whether geographical or socio-cultural, is the means whereby a particular population unit or gene pool is subjected to the differential selective forces of its own unique climatic and cultural milieu. Genetic variations and differences which arise in one population group are preserved and become "characteristic" of the group (*i.e.*, elements of a "race type") through restriction of mating to group members. Continued

[3] Seymour Benzer, 1962, "The Fine Structure of the Gene," *Scientific American,* Vol. CCVI, No. 1, pp. 70-84; F. H. C. Crick, 1962, "The Genetic Code: I," *Scientific American,* Vol. CCVII, No. 4, pp. 66-74; Marshall W. Nirenberg, 1963, "The Genetic Code: II," *Scientific American,* Vol. CCVIII, No. 3, pp. 80-94; Severo Ochoa, 1964, "The Chemical Basis of Heredity—The Genetic Code," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine,* Vol. XL, No. 5, pp. 387-413.

[4] David C. Rife, 1959, *Heredity and Human Nature,* Vantage Press, New York, pp. 65-66 and 126-128.

[5] Carleton S. Coon, 1962, *The Origin of Races,* Knopf, New York, pp. 21-22; C. D. Darlington, 1956, *The Facts of Life,* George Allen and Unwin, London, pp. 177-198.

[6] Sewall Wright, 1948, "On the Roles of Directed and Random Changes in Gene Frequency in the Genetics of Populations," *Evolution,* Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 279-294.

[7] Carleton S. Coon, 1962, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.,* pp. 3-118; C. D. Darlington and K. Mather, 1952, *The Elements of Genetics,* George Allen and Unwin, London, pp. 271-301; David C. Rife, *op. cit.,* pp. 132-136.

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isolation and inbreeding amongst members of the population thus perpetuates and stabilizes group differences.[8]

II

Various authors have stressed one or another process as the prime factor in the formation of human races. Darwin (1871), for example, considered sexual selection as the method by which races were formed. According to Darwin (1871), "the selection of the more attractive women by the more powerful men of each tribe" would lead to differences in physical traits between races.[9] Later, Eugen Fischer (1914) advanced the view that the racial characteristics of man correspond to the physical variations which have appeared in animals under domestication.[10] Fischer (1940) pointed out that variations in color, hair form and hairiness which distinguish the races of man are also found in the breeds of domestic horses, cattle, goats, sheep, rabbits, cats and dogs.[11] However, neither of these hypotheses suffices to explain the full complexity of human racial evolution.

In recent years a much clearer understanding has been gained of the forces governing the evolution and raciation of man with the accumulation of knowledge in the related fields of evolutionary biology, population genetics, zoogeography, primate behavior and physiology. Contemporary anthropologists, such as Carleton Coon (1962), stress two broad categories of selective forces as prime factors in human evolution and raciation: geographico-climatic selection and socio-cultural selection.[12]

III

Geographico-climatic Selection. Throughout the course of evolution human populations have been subjected to the selective pressures of heat, cold, humidity, altitude, sunlight and disease. Diverse combinations of these factors prevail in different zoogeographic or faunal regions of the earth. Furthermore, geological processes—such as the succession of glacial and pluvial periods—have brought about marked changes in the climatic

[8] Gottfried Kurth, 1959, "Rassengenese," *Anthropologie: A zu Z,* Fischer, Frankfurt, pp. 172-175; David C. Rife, *op. cit.,* pp. 136-155.

[9] Charles Darwin, 1871, *The Descent of Man,* Modern Library, New York, pp. 567-611 and 867-920.

[10] Eugen Fischer, 1914, "Die Rassenmerkmale des Menschen als Domesticationerscheinungen," *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 479-524.

[11] Eugen Fischer, 1940, "Die menschlichen Rassen als Gruppen mit gleichen Gen-Sätzen," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Klasse,* No. 3.

[12] Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.,* pp. 38-118.

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conditions of the same region over the course of time. All of these climatic forces are potential selective agents for producing racial differences through genetic adaptation. This adaptation occurs through changes in physiological processes—such as metabolic activity, blood chemistry, and growth and maturation rates —which may in turn involve modification of the internal and external anatomy of the body.[13]

Some anthropologists have attempted to explain racial differences in physical traits in terms of zoogeographical principles used to interpret physical variations in animal populations. Darker skin pigmentation, for example, is believed to afford better protection against the rays of the sun, so that there is a *positive* correlation between skin color and mean annual temperature in both animal and human populations (Gloger's rule).[14] Larger body size is held to be more efficient at heat regulation in cold weather, so that there is "a marked *negative* correlation between the mean annual temperature and weight" (Allen's rule).[15] Heat loss by perspiration is increased by maximizing body surface relative to body mass, so that "in man there is a distinct tendency for the more linear groupings to be associated with high (and relatively dry) environmental temperatures, and for the thickest populations to inhabit areas where below-freezing temperatures predominate" (Bergmann's rule).[16]

In recent years several carefully conducted studies of the physiological adaptation of various racial groups to the climatic extremes of heat, cold and altitude have provided additional evidence in support of these hypotheses.[17] Thus, Coon and Hunt (1963) recently concluded that genetic adaptations to extremes of climate "explain many of the differences in skin color, eye color, hair form, facial features, body size, and body proportions found between major human subspecies and within their component local races."[18]

[13] Carleton S. Coon, Stanley M. Garn and Joseph B. Birdsell, 1950, *Races: A Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man,* Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, pp. 23-27.

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 51-55 and 77-79; Carleton S. Coon and Edward E. Hunt (Editors), 1963, *Anthropology: A to Z,* Grosset and Dunlap, New York, pp. 157-159; Stanley M. Garn, 1961, *Human Races,* Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, pp. 55-56.

[15] Carleton S. Coon and Edward E. Hunt, *op. cit.,* pp. 159-160; Stanley M. Garn, *op. cit.,* p. 57.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 59.

[17] Paul T. Baker, 1960, "Climate, Culture, and Evolution," *Human Biology,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, pp. 3-16; Marshall T. Newman, 1961, "Biological Adaptation of Man to His Environment: Heat, Cold, Altitude, and Nutrition," *Annals of the New York Academy of Science,* Vol. XCI, pp. 617-633.

[18] Carleton S. Coon and Edward E. Hunt, *op. cit.,* p. 81; Stanley M.

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IV

Socio-cultural Selection. The French sociologist G. V. de Lapouge (1896, 1909) was one of the first writers to stress the importance of cultural and institutional factors (war, politics, law, religion, morality, economics, occupation and urbanization) in modifying the biological composition of human populations.[19] Modern thinking on this subject has been considerably refined and has started to "probe the influence of sociocultural agencies on psychological and personality types."[20]

Recent animal experiments, for example, have demonstrated that stress and population density act as selective forces to regulate the size of a number of mammalian populations, "largely through internal behavioral-physiological interactions."[21] Schwidetzky (1950)[22] and Coon (1950, 1962)[23] have emphasized that social selection also plays an important rôle in human evolution by favoring the survival of those individuals whose innate abilities and qualities of temperament best enable them to interact with other members of their society. This in turn promotes the survival of the group as a whole. Consequently modern race science views biological and cultural evolution as an interacting feedback process.[24]

Garn, *op. cit.*, p. 59: "Within each geographical race there is a range of sizes small to large. This range can best be comprehended in terms of the selective forces, temperature for one, and the available food supply for another. However, these generalizations about body size are fully documentable but do not explain the Ithuri Forest Pygmies. Nor do they explain the surprising fatness of the Papago Indians of North America."

Gottfried Kurth, *op. cit.*, p. 176: "Die Konzentrierung einer deutlich abzugrenzenden kennzeichnenden Merkmalskombination unter den Populationen bestimmter geographischer Räume lässt sich aber nur zu einem Teil mit einem speziellen Auslesewert (besonders auffälig bei Klimaanpassung) parallelisieren."

[19] G. Vacher de Lapouge, 1896, *Les Sélections Sociales,* Paris; G. Vacher de Lapouge, 1909, *Race et Milieu Social,* Paris; Pitirim Sorokin, 1928, "Anthropo-Racial, Selectionist, and Hereditarist School," *Contemporary Sociological Theories,* Harper, New York, pp. 219-308.

[20] Robert E. Kuttner, 1960, "Cultural Selection of Human Psychological Types, *Genus,* Vol. XVI, No. 1-4, pp. 3-6.

[21] J. J. Christian, 1961, "Phenomena Associated with Population Density," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science,* Vol. XLVII, No. 4, pp. 428-449.

[22] Ilse Schwidetzky, 1950, *Grundzüge der Völkerbiologie,* Enke, Stuttgart, pp. 86-183.

[23] Carleton S. Coon, Stanley M. Garn and Joseph B. Birdsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22; Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.*, pp. 72-118.

[24] Carleton S. Coon and Edward E. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.*, p. 118: "All these are cultural in a sense but in another and more inclusive sense they are biological because they have affected the genetic structure of the human organism. Culture and biology are parts of a single picture. . . ."

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V

In a review of evolutionary processes in animal populations, Simpson (1944) noted that while most phyletic lines evolve regularly at rates more or less comparable to those of their allies, some lines seem to evolve with exceptional rapidity while others change so slowly that they hardly seem to be evolving at all.[25] Contemporary anthropologists have begun to apply these principles in interpreting human evolution and raciation. This has led to a recognition that the various elements and factors in race formation —variation, selection and isolation—do not affect all racial groups in the same manner or to the same degree. Coon and Hunt (1963), for example, conclude that "different genetic populations did not suffer isolation to an equal extent, selection pressures were not equally great in all cases, and the possibilities of contact between populations were also quite variable."[26]

Gates (1958) also stressed that the concept of race involves a fourth dimension, time, so that there is a need to recognize "levels or grades of human evolution."[27] According to Gates the primary races of man "have developed independently from an early common ancestry, but are not necessarily even of the same age."[28]

Coon (1962) similarly interprets human fossil finds as indicating separate and parallel evolution of the primary races, with each race being "molded in a different fashion to meet the needs of different environments" and each race reaching "its own level on the evolutionary scale."[29] In his view, "at the beginning of our record, over half a million years ago, man was a single species, *Homo erectus*, perhaps already divided into five geographic races or subspecies. *Homo erectus* then evolved into *Homo sapiens* not once but five times, as each subspecies, living in its own territory, passed a critical threshold from a more brutal to a more *sapient* state."[30]

Coon (1960) also stressed that selective pressure varied in the different ecological breeding areas, so that "human evolution proceeded during the latter part of the Pleistocene, at an accelerated

[25] George G. Simpson, 1944, *Tempo and Mode in Evolution,* Columbia University, New York, p. 125.

[26] Carleton S. Coon and Edward E. Hunt, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[27] R. Ruggles Gates, 1958, *Race Crossing,* Istituto Gregorio Mendel, Rome, p. 139.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 139.

[29] Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.,* p. vii.
Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.,* p. 369: "We have shown that from the start of the Middle Pleistocene the Old World, in which man arose, was divided into five breeding grounds, sufficiently separated from one another by physical and climatic barriers to permit a human subspecies to evolve, almost but not quite independently of its neighbors."

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 658.

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pace, particularly among Caucasoids and Mongoloids of the Palaearctic region."[31] In his most recent survey of human race formation and racial origins Coon (1962) concluded:[32]

> Caucasoids and Mongoloids who live in their homelands and in recently colonized regions, such as North America, did not rise to their present population levels and positions of cultural dominance by accident. They achieved all this because their ancestors occupied the most favorable of the earth's zoological regions, in which other kinds of animals also attained dominance during the Pleistocene. These regions had challenging climates and ample breeding grounds and were centrally located within continental land masses. There general adaptation was more important than special adaptation.

VI

In summary, races are formed as the result of the operation of fundamental biological processes related to the nature of heredity and evolution. Hereditary variation, selection and isolation are the prime factors in the formation of races. The selective forces governing human evolution and raciation comprise both geographico-climatic and socio-cultural selection, so that biological and cultural evolutionary forces operate as an interacting feed-back process. Differential selective pressure and genetic isolation have combined to mold each race in a different fashion to meet the needs of different environments, with each race reaching its own level on the evolutionary scale.

[31] Carleton S. Coon, 1960, "Race and Ecology in Man," *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 150-160.

[32] Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.*, p. 663.

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Book Reviews

THE LONG ROAD TO MAN

By Robert L. Lehrman. Basic Books, New York, 1961. Pp. 192, 53 figures. Price $3.95.

In this new book in the Science and Discovery Series Robert L. Lehrman gives an account of the evolution of animal life culminating in man. The chapter headings, "Our Changing World," "From Globule to Vertebrate," "How Old Are the Rocks?" "The Age of Fishes," "Invasion of the Land," "Reptiles: the Conquest of Dry Land," "From Reptiles to Mammals," "The Radiation of the Mammals," "The Evolution of the Primates," "Man-Apes and Ape-Men," "The Coming of Modern Man," "The Past in the Present," "The Long Road," and "Human Evolution," give an idea of the scope of this book. *The Long Road to Man* is primarily prepared for high school students in biology classes, but it is also suitable for older and more advanced readers.

The author says (p. 7): "The physical characteristics of people also change through the years. Only a very small man of our day could wear a suit of armor made for a twelfth-century knight, because men are bigger today." This is, however, too great an assumption, as the probability is that the difference is largely environmental and dietic, not genetic at all. For instance the industrial populations of England in the twentieth century (and the same thing can be said for Scotland and other countries also) are considerably taller than their ancestors in the nineteenth century. Likewise the Australians are much taller than the British from whom they are largely derived. If the environmental conditions were restored there is every probability that smaller types would be produced. However, this is not a case of the validity of Lamarckism; each genetic type will grow to the utmost its inheritance is capable of achieving in a given environment.

The writer says what is true within limits, that today man has triumphed over environment, and that some racial differences—such as the darker skins of the tropical peoples—although they may have a certain amount of adaptive value, "do not prevent any man from living anywhere with success." This is typical of much very loose thinking of our times—thinking which is no doubt actuated by the desire to subscribe fully to the concept that inherited traits are of little or no practical significance, and that man is to be conceived of as just one big family without any limitations or differences of significance as between one group and another. It is simply not accurate to say that these characters of an inherited racial or any other type do not prevent any man from living anywhere with *success*. Everything depends on what one means by success. If by that one means as easily, as economically and as efficiently as any other group, then the statement is not true. For it is only by the creation of a coccoon of special conditions around the incomer that he can live in an environment for which he has not been specialised. Thus the White man takes to the tropics air conditioning, medicines, the necessary practice of boiling all the water he drinks, specialised diets, and so on, and reserves for himself a way of life which avoids toil and labour as a peasant in the fields. In other words he reproduces as much as he can the conditions of his own natural racial and ancestral environment. Even so he gets a higher incidence of skin cancer in some countries than the natives, and there is no doubt that he is subject to other maladies to a greater degree than they are. In reverse the same is true of the Negroes settling in cold countries.

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The welfare state conditions of northern Europe, Britain and America give them the opportunity of settlement and survival in these regions which in earlier times would have been impossible. Any continued survival of the Negroes in cold climates will depend on the continuation of free or cheap medical services, subsidised and cheap housing, and welfare state conditions generally. Otherwise tuberculosis and other maladies from which they tend to suffer especially in colder climates will strike them down at a greater rate than the natives. Since everything depends upon these artificial environmental conditions, the survival of Negroes in the north depends upon the present maldistribution of wealth and resources—in which a small proportion of the world (that settled by the White races) has such abundance that they can afford, not only for themselves but for immigrants also, conditions of life infinitely superior to those of the majority of people in the world, who are living well within the starvation line. If Negroes coming to the north found themselves very much as pioneer settlers put down on the shores of a northern ocean (as would become the case once there were no longer the present abnormally high standards of living in these parts) then there is little doubt they could not survive at all. Such statements as this about man's triumph over nature, and the dwindling significance of race, therefore need very serious qualification.

The author is, of course, quite right in saying that medical care reduces the effect of selection, since it encourages the survival of many who would not be fit for existence in an environment which did not include medical care. However, even here such generalisations might not be as trite as they seem at first glance. An association between intelligence and fitness has been established in the past. Indeed if this were not so it is difficult to see how civilisation could have arisen in the first place. If this is the case and if our civilisation continues to demand a high standard of intelligence, it may well be that the selection for intellectual ability which may be operating will in itself operate by indirectly selecting people of fit physical conditions.

Anyway the book is stimulating and although one may disagree with some of the author's conclusions especially where man is concerned, *The Long Road to Man* is a very useful survey of the development from stage to stage of life on the planet.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE.

TAMBARAN: AN ENCOUNTER WITH CULTURES IN DECLINE IN NEW GUINEA

By René Gardi, translated from the French by Eric Northcott. Constable, London, 1960. Pp. 201, 55 plates, many line drawings in text. Price 30s.

The book is written by a Swiss traveller and writer who accompanied the Director of the Basle Museum as his photographer on an expedition to the former German colony of North Eastern New Guinea, which is now administered by Australia under a mandate. The main purpose of the expedition was to collect the artistic and other artefacts of the native people for the Basle Museum.

The travellers went by canoe, as well as on foot and by air, into the remoter parts of the forests and mountains of the area. Their particular interest centred on the Tambaran houses—now falling into decay because of the impact of White civilisation and the erosive influence of Western economy on native culture—which were formerly the tribal cultural centres devoted to ancestor veneration and worship. Here grotesquely carved figures, of some considerable artistic merit as stylisations, represent the ancestors.

As in many other works of modern times which deal with the condition

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of primitive peoples, we are presented here with a picture of the collapse of a native civilisation and the inadequate replacement of its values by European culture and Christianity. In this particular case the journey was undertaken at a time when only the older people were still in communion with their former life, and the young, returning to the native villages after employment in the industries established by the White man, came back as disruptive influences, neither orientated to the old civilisation nor a part of the new—into which, certainly so far as their being able to enter into modern economic life on equal terms with Europeans, they are not able to penetrate on viable terms. As the publishers say on the dust-jacket: "They found that the whole primitive structure of native life—spiritual, social and economic—is fast breaking down under the impact of the white trader and of the white planter."

To some extent the dedication of missionaries softens the blow, and so helps to fill the void which has been created by the economic and physical aspects of contacts with Western civilisation—but how far this can fully make good the damage of Westernisation remains to be seen. After all, Christianity is a religion created among the Caucasoids, and moulded by them over the centuries, with standards of reference far removed from those of the peoples of New Guinea.

These people racially speaking are clearly a mixture, derived from Australoid and Negroid origins with some infiltration of Polynesian strains, which has become stabilised by selection. They tend, consequently, to be browner-skinned than the Negroid types proper.

The writer would appear to hold the view that there are limitations to the intellectual development of these people along European lines—which would not be surprising since they have evolved in relation to a different type of civilisation. Thus he writes (p. 113): "I always admired the patience with which they [the white officials] dealt with these natives who are so slow in the uptake. . . ."

In a land which is completely primitive and backward, only recently weaned from head-hunting, the author is justly irritated at the stupidity of a visiting U.N.O. delegate who travelled through the district and "is said to have enquired critically why no university had yet been put up for the Kanakas" (p. 114).

This is a worthwhile book which brings out the mistakes perpetrated upon primitive society not only by ignorant economic contact and exploitation but also by misplaced benevolence, which can often be at least as disastrous as the former.

PHARMACOGENETICS: HEREDITY AND THE RESPONSE TO DRUGS

By Werner Kalow. W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia and London, 1962. Pp. 231. Price $8.00.

It was known to biologists and other scientists working with animals that sensitivity to a drug, hormone or poison often varied sharply between different strains or breeds of one species. Medical doctors likewise frequently observed that responses to drugs could differ in patients drawn from distinct races or ethnic stocks. The concept of the average response to the average dose by the average patient is a medical fiction which poorly disguises the range of reaction possible in individuals with different genetic equipment.

This volume by Kalow is a compilation of many reports showing the diversity of effects obtained by chemical agents in apparently homogeneous experimental populations (bacterial colonies, tissue culture cells, insects and laboratory animals). The observations are extended to human case material and to impressions gained by those familiar with what might be called "medical anthropology." As expected, the variation is readily

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explained: the phenotypically homogeneous organisms were really genetically quite diversified, accounting for any deviation from normal or customary response to drug treatment. Kalow has himself experience in the field, having studied the types of activity shown by the choline esterase family of enzymes in Canadian populations. His book collects and organizes in a succinct style a great wealth of information of this nature with many pages of references to the original literature.

Growing attention has been directed to this subject since the Second World War when the first large-scale chemotherapeutic experiments were carried out on human populations. Soldiers serving in the Pacific regions were routinely dosed with synthetic anti-malarial compounds because of the shortage of quinine. It was then that large numbers of Negro troops were found to show hemolytic reactions to these drugs. Later work demonstrated that these susceptible Negroes inherited red blood cells that were deficient in a certain protective enzyme and it was this deficiency which rendered these cells vulnerable to an otherwise useful drug. (This genetic trait is not to be confused with the sickle-cell trait, another genetic condition manifested by many Negroes). Population-wide surveys on drug behavior are now deliberately conducted to uncover genetic variability, and some valuable observations have emerged from this type of investigation.

Though it is fashionable for some scientifically illiterate social philosophers to ignore or deny racial differences, it is obvious that practitioners of medicine cannot cultivate such blindness. The world is much smaller, and populations and individuals circulate rapidly from one region to another. It is increasingly possible for a physician dwelling even in what may once have been a secluded village to encounter a sick alien that would react dangerously to the customary medications. Thus it is necessary to keep in contact with progress in pharmacogenetics so that racial idiosyncracies may be considered in prescribing treatment.

ROBERT E. KUTTNER.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND HISTORY

By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Manchester University Press, 1961. Pp. 22. Price 3s 6d.

It is fitting that one who succeeded the great Dr Marett, whose whole instincts were rooted in the sense of history, should write on this subject. It is hoped that this stimulating monograph, the text of a lecture delivered in the University of Manchester with the support of the Simon Fund for the Social Sciences, will be widely read and taken to heart.

Professor Evans-Pritchard takes to task the social anthropologist of our time for having abandoned, and for continuing to fail to realise, the importance to these studies of history and the historical method. He points out that whatever were the errors at various times of the historical or evolutionary school of thought, and later of their antagonists the diffusionists, both of whom were essentially historical in their approach, the functionalist ideas of modern social anthropology themselves constitute a failure to appreciate the methods of history. He says (p. 2): "As it was, they dropped the history and kept the pursuit of laws, which was often precisely what made the history bad." Professor Evans-Pritchard points out that social anthropologists have tended to be uncritical of the use of their documentary sources and have placed far too much reliance upon field monographs—many of which would not withstand the test of searching criticism such as they have directed against other schools of thought. In contrast, however, he draws attention (p. 5) to the fact that the relevance of the techniques of historical criticism has "been recognized by some of the more historically-minded ethnologists, German writers in particular, but many [social] anthropologists seem to be oblivious of them."

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